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ST. AUGUSTIN'S

CONFESSIONS;

OR

PRAISES OF GOD.

In Ten Books.

NEWLY TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

FROM THE

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PREFACE

AMONGST all the spiritual Works published by the Holy Fathers, none has been either more universally esteemed in all ages, or read with greater profit than the CONFESSIONS of ST. AUGUSTIN. The general approbation they met with in the Church of God, when they first came out, has stuck by them ever since, no-ways abated in thirteen centuries. So that there is no need of a long Preface to recommend to the Public a Work so generally known and admired.

The proper Character of these Books is thus truly and modestly set down by the Saint himself, in the 6th Chapter of the 2d Book of his Retractions, or Review of his Writings. "The Books of my CONFESSION, says he, both in my evil and in my good things praise God ever just and ever good: and raise up towards him the understanding and affection of man. At least as to myself, they had this effect on me when they were written, and have still when they are read. What others think of them they can best tell. However, I know that many of my brethren have been and are much taken with them." So far for the Saint.—I shall only add, that whoever will read these Books seriously and attentively will quickly be convinced by his own experience, that they perfectly answer this character: and that they are every where full of the most tender affections of the love of God, and carry along with them all the powers of the soul, towards this sovereign good.

As to this new translation, which we here present the English reader, we shall say nothing else in favour of it, but that we have laboured with all possible diligence, both to do justice to the Saint, by faithfully representing his true meaning; and to the reader, by making that meaning as plain and intelligible to him as the subject would permit; in which points some former translations of these books, seem to have been defective.

We have on purpose omitted the three last books, which have no relation to the life of St. Augustin, but were added by way of a mystical interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis: because the contents of them are for the most part so hard and obscure, that they would be of small edification to those for whose benefit this translation is chiefly designed.

As for the scripture texts alleged by the Saint, he always follows the old Italic version, agreeable for the most part to the vulgar Latin, which the reader will be pleased to take notice of, that he may be the less surprised if he finds the Saint quoting the Scripture differently from the English Bible; which in many places differs not a little from the ancient Latin versions followed by the Holy Fathers.

As to the rest, we heartily wish the reader a share in that spirit of love, which dictated these books; and beg for ourselves a remembrance in his prayers.

CONTENTS

BOOK I

CHAP.		PAGE
1.	He admires the Majesty of God, and desires to praise and invoke him,	13
2.	God is incomprehensible,	14
3.	God fills all things, and has no parts.	15
4.	God is infinite in perfection, and above all praise,	16
5.	He desires to repose in God,	17
6	He relates his infancy, and the blessings he then receives from God,	18
7.	Of the corrupt inclinations which are discovered even in infants,	23
8.	He gives an account of his childhood, and of his learning to speak,	25
9.	Of his going to school,	27
10.	He acknowledges his sin in neglecting his book for the love of play,	28
11.	Of his sickness when yet a boy, and of his desiring Baptism, which, upon his recovery was deferred,	30
12.	He is compelled to his studies, against his will. He confesses his fault therein, and the fault of them that compelled him to it, through vain and worldly motives: but God drew good out of all,	32
13.	He prefers poetical fables to more useful studies,	33
14.	He is less pleased with the Greek poetry than with the Latin,	36
15.	He prays to God, and offers to him the fruits of his learning,	37
16.	He inveighs against lascivious fables,	38
17.	He laments the misuse of his wit employed in vain exercises,	40
18.	He complains that he was misguided by men, that were more ashamed of the breach of grammar rules than of the law of God,	41
19.	Of his lies to his Governors, thefts from his Parents, and cheating of his play-fellows,	44
20.	He praises God for the many good endowments of his childhood,	45

BOOK II

CHAP.		PAGE
1.	An account of his youth,	47
2.	Of his unruly lusts in the sixteenth year of his age,	48
3.	His living idle a home contributed to his sins, from which his holy Mother endeavoured to divert him,	50
4	He confesses a theft of his youth done out of mere wantonness,	54
5.	That men sin not without some appearance or pretence of good,	56
6.	That the good which men pretend to in sin is not to be found but in God,	58
7	He gives thanks to God for the remission of his sins, and for having been preserved from many other offences,	61
8.	He still inquires what it was that he loved in this theft, and finds that he should not have done it without company,	62
9.	What it was that made him commit that theft,	63
10.	He aspires to God, the sovereign rest,	64

BOOK III

1	Of his journey to Carthage, and the sinful inclinations he had there,	65
2.	In what manner he was affected by the sight of Tragedies,	66
3.	His concupiscence in the Church. His ambition of studies, and his conversation amongst the jeering and abusive Wits,	69
4.	In the nineteenth year of his age, upon the reading of Cicero's Hortensius, he is inflamed with the love of wisdom,	71
5	He takes the Scriptures in hand, and is offended with the lowness of the style,	73
6.	He falls into the society and errors of the Manichæans,	74
7	The questions that staggered him, and the solution of them,	77
8	The law of God, by which crimes against nature are prohibited, is eternal and unchangeable,	81
9.	Of the sins of beginners, and that what God commands is always to be done,	84
10	The opinion of the Manichæans of particles of God imprisoned in the fruits of the earth,	85
11.	His Mother's vision concerning his conversion,	86
12.	The answer of a holy Bishop concerning his conversion,	88

BOOK IV.

1	From the nineteenth to the twenty-eighth year of his age, he continues addicted to the Manichæans,	90
2.	He teaches rhetoric; keeps a concubine; refuses the assistance of a magician, promising him victory in a prize of poetry upon the theatre,	91
3	He is addicted to judicial astrology, from which a learned Physician strives to dissuade him	92

CHAP. PAGE

4. His great grief at the death of a dear friend, whom he had engaged in his errors, but who was baptized before his death, - - 96
5. Why mourning is so pleasant to the afflicted, . . 99
6. The horror he had for death, which had snatched away his friend, - - - 100
7. Unable to bear the sight of the place where they had lived together, he leaves Tagaste and goes to Carthage, 101
8. His grief is allayed by time, and by new friendships, - 103
9. All human friendship defective in comparison with divine Charity, - - - 104
10. All things loved, besides God, pass away, and leave the lover to embrace sorrows, - - - 105
11. He encourages his soul to run to God, the only perfect and unchangeable good, - 107
12. That souls are to be loved in God, and to be carried with us to God, - - 109
13. He writes his books de Pulchro and Apto, - - 111
14. He dedicates these books to Hierius the Roman Orator, and why, - - - - - 112
15. His false imaginations concerning these things, 115
16. His great wit, acquiring all the liberal sciences without a teacher, yet grossly erring in religion, 118

BOOK V.

1. He offers his confessions and praises to God, 122
2. That God is every where present, to whom he exhorts sinners to return, - - - - 123
3. Faustus, a Manichæan Bishop, comes to Carthage: the Philosophers' tenets, in regard to the sciences, are found much more probable than the Manichæans, - - 124
4. It is not the knowledge of human sciences, but of God alone that can make us happy, - - - 128
5. The vanity of Manichæus in pretending to write on those things which he knew nothing of, - 129
6. He finds Faustus naturally eloquent, but ignorant of the liberal sciences, and unable to give him satisfaction in his doubts, - - 131
7. His affection to the Manichæan doctrine is much abated upon discovery of Faustus's ignorance, - - 134
8. Being offended with the ways of the scholars of Carthage, he removes from thence to Rome, much against his mother's will, - 136
9. He falls sick at Rome of a dangerous fever, the recovery from which he attributes to his mother's prayers, - 140
10. Being recovered, he still keeps company with the Manichæans, retaining many of their errors, but with much more remissness than formerly, - - 142
11. He finds the Manichæans unable to give satisfactory answers to the objections of the Catholics from Scripture, 146
12. He begins to open a School of Rhetoric at Rome, and is informed of the fraudulent practices of students there 147

CHAP. PAGE

13. He removes from Rome to teach Rhetoric at Milan, and is kindly received by St. Ambrose, 148
14. He is by little and little reconciled to the Catholic doctrine, by the preaching of St. Ambrose, 150

BOOK VI.

1 His Mother Monica comes after him to Milan, 153
2. Her ready obedience to St. Ambrose, prohibiting the charity-feasts at the tombs of the Martyrs, - 154
3 St. Ambrose's employments do not allow St. Augustin an opportunity of private discourse with him; yet he learns from his sermons that the Catholics do not hold what the Manichæans charged them with, - 156
4. He is still more alienated from the Manichæans, but fearful to yield assent to the Catholic truths, - - 159
5. Of the divine authority of the sacred Scriptures, delivered by the Church, - - 161
6. His ambition, and the cares attending it. His great solicitude being to speak a panegyric before the Emperor; and his envying the secure mirth of a poor beggar seen in the streets, - - - - 164
7 Of his friend Alipius, who had been formerly his scholar; and how he reclaimed him from the vain sports of the Circus, which were chiefly all manner of races, - 167
8. How Alipius, studying the law at Rome, was brought to behold and to delight in the bloody shows of the Gladiators, - - - 170
9. How Alipius, when a student at Carthage, was apprehended for a thief, - - - - - - 172
10 Alipius follows St. Augustin to Milan. A memorable example of his integrity. Of his other friend Nebridius, 175
11. He describes the course of his various thoughts which successively possessed his mind, from the 19th to the 30th year of his age, - - - - - 177
12. The disputes between him and Alipius, concerning marriage and a single life, - - - - - 180
13. A wife is sought out for him; his Mother cannot obtain any answer from God concerning this intended marriage, 183
14. A proposal is made for many of them living together in common; but it is found inconsistent with a married life, - - 184
15. His concubine leaves him, and vows continency; he has not the courage to imitate her, - 185
16 The fear of death, and the future judgment was some restraint to his lusts, 186

BOOK VII

1 His entrance now, being thirty years old, into man's estate: he apprehends God to be inviolable, incorruptible, immutable, and every way infinite, but yet corporeal, 189

CHAP. PAGE
2. Nebridius's argument against the Manichæans, 191
3. He is unsatisfied concerning the cause of evil, which is man's free will, - 193
4 Nothing can be conceived better than God; and therefore he is certainly incorruptible, 194
5 He is still in quest after the origin of evil. His faith in Christ and the Catholic Church daily grows stronger, 196
6. He is convinced of the vanity of Judiciary Astrology, pretending to foretel future events from the stars, 199
7. He is still perplexed about the origin of evil, 203
8. He acknowledges the mercy of God which came into his succour, - 205
9. He lights upon some books of the Platonic Philosophers, in which he finds a great deal concerning the Divinity of the Eternal Word, but nothing of the humility of his Incarnation, - - - 206
10 He now more clearly discovers divine matters, and that God is incorporeal, - 209
11. That created things may be said in some sense to have a being, and in another sense to have none, - - 211
12. That all natures, even the corruptible, are good, though not the supreme good, - - - - 212
13. That there is nothing in the creation absolutely evil, 213
14. That to sound reason not one of the works of God can appear otherwise than good, - - - - 214
15. That all things have their being from God, that there is a truth in all things; and that all things are of God's creation, - - - - 215
16. That things which are evil relatively to some other things have nevertheless their good in them; and that sin is no substance, but the perversity of our free-will, - 216
17. That he began now to have a true notion of the Divinity, 217
18. Our Lord Jesus Christ is the only way to salvation, 219
19 His errors concerning Christ, - - - 220
20. The writings of the Platonic Philosophers, though they informed him of many divine truths, bred pride in him, and not humility, - - - - - 222
21 He betakes himself to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, especially St. Paul's Epistles, and with what fruit, 224

BOOK VIII.

1 He takes a resolution to consult the holy Priest Simplicianus about the future ordering of his life, remaining still passionately bent on marriage, - - 227
2. Simplicianus relates the story of the conversion of Victorinus, the famous Roman orator, - 230
3. Why there is more joy for men that are converted than if they had always professed the true faith, 234
4. Why there is more joy in the conversion of men more eminent or noble, - - 237
5. The story of Victorinus produces in him a desire of imitating his conversion; but he is kept back by the force of his evil habit. 239

CHAP PAGE

6. He is visited by Pontitianus, a courtier, who relates to him the life of St. Anthony; and how two of his fellow courtiers, upon the reading thereof, had renounced the world, 242
7. The operation that Pontitianus's discourse had upon him, 247
8. In the anguish of his soul he retires into a garden, Alipius following him, - - - 249
9. He wonders at the great difficulty the will hath to command herself; whereas she so easily commandeth all the parts of the body, - - - - 252
10. A digression against the Manichæans, who pretended that there were two souls in man, - - - - 253
11. He deseribes the conflicts that passed in his soul, before he could come to a resolution, - - - - 257
12. His total conversion, upon hearing a voice from Heaven, and reading a passage of St. Paul, where the book first opened, - 260

BOOK IX

1. He praiseth and giveth thanks to God for his deliverance from his former lust, and expresseth the great joy and content he presently experienced, - - - 264
2. He resolves upon forsaking his profession of Rhetoric after the Vintage Vacation, - - - - - 265
3. Verecundus offers his conntry-house for their retirement The death of Verecundus and Nebridius, not long after St. Augustin's conversion, being both first made Christians, - - - - - - - 268
4. His retiring in the vacation to the country-house of Verecundus; his meditations on the fourth Psalm, and the miraculous cure of his violent tooth-ache, which had rendered him speechless, - - 271
5. He acquaints St. Ambrose, by letters, with his former errors and present resolution, - 278
6. He returns to Milan to receive baptism with his friend Alipius, and his son Adeodatus, - - 279
7. He relates upon what occasion the singing of Psalms and Hymns after the manner of the Eastern Churches was first introduced in the Church of Milan; and of the miracles wrought upon the discovery of the bodies of the Saints Gervasius and Protasius, - - - 280
8. The conversion of Evodius. St. Augustin returns from Rome to Africa. His mother dies at Ostia. A description of her pious education and life, - - - 283
9. St. Monica's dutiful deportment towards her husband Patricius, whom she converts at length to the Christian Faith, - - - - - - 287
10. The discourse between him and his Mother, not long before her last sickness, concerning the happiness of the next life, - - - - 291
11. Her sickness and death, - - 294
12. St. Augustin's inward grief at the death of his Mother, though outwardly refraining from tears; to which, after her burial, he giveth some way, 299

PAGE

13. He prays for his deceased Mother, and for his Father Patricius, - - - 301

BOOK X

1. He prays that he may know God, - 305
2. The end and fruit of his confessing the remaining infirmities of his present condition to God that knows them, 306
3. He inquires into the end and fruits of his making known to men in this public manner the infirmities of his present condition, - - - - - 307
4. He declares the end and fruit which he proposes to himself in this Confession, - - - - - 309
5. He acknowledgeth himself unable to see or confess all that is in himself, - - - 311
6. He knows he loveth God; and proceeds to examine what it is he loveth, when he saith he loveth God, - 312
7. He proceeds in his search after God, who is not to be found either by the vegetative or sensitive faculty of the soul, 316
8. He passes on to consider the faculty of the Memory; the many wonders of which, to the glory of its maker, he enlarges upon in this and the following Chapters, - 317
9. The memory of the rules of arts and sciences, 321
10. How such things are in the memory as did not enter by any of the senses, - - 322
11. What it is to learn such things as are not discovered by the senses, 324
12. The memory of the Mathematics not borrowed from the senses, - 325
13. Of the memory of things that have passed in the mind, and the affections of the soul, - - - 326
14. An inquiry how we remember the passions of the mind at a time when we are not affected with them, but with quite opposite passions, - - 327
15. Some things we remember by their images, others by themselves, - - - - - 330
16. That there is a memory also of oblivion or forgetting, 331
17. He admires the power of the memory, but resolves to pass beyond it to find his God, - - - - 333
18. Of the memory of things lost, - - 335
19. Of remembering again things that were forgotten, : 336
20. All men desire beatitude. They must therefore have some notion of it; and consequently it must have a place in their memory, 337
21. In what manner beatitude or a happy life is in the memory, 339
22. A happy life is joy in God, - - - 341
23. Why men are not happy, notwithstanding they all in some measure love the truth, and rejoice in it, 342
24. That God also is in the memory, - - 344
25. He inquireth in what part of the memory God dwelleth, 345
26. He found God no where but in God himself, 346
27. He laments his having loved God so late, 347

CHAP PAGE
28. He bewails his present misery, in which he cannot enjoy a perfect union with his God, - - - - 348
29. His whole hope is in God; to whom he prays for continency, - 349
30. He examines himself, and confesses his remaining infirmities and temptations; and first as to the concupiscence of the flesh, - - - - 350
31 His remaining infirmities with regard to the temptations of the taste, in sensuality and intemperance of eating, 352
32. Concerning the temptations of the smell, - - 357
33. His remaining infirmities with regard to the temptation of the ears in music, - - - - 358
34. His remaining infirmities with relation to the temptations of the eyes, - - - 360
35. His remaining infirmities with relation to the second branch of concupiscence, the lust of the eyes, by which he understands vain curiosity, - - 363
36. His remaining infirmities concerning the temptations of the pride of life, - - - 367
37 The great danger of vain-glory from the praises of men, 370
38. Public actions and discourses are most exposed to the danger of vain-glory, - - 374
39 Persons may be many ways guilty of a criminal self-conceit, without any regard to praise from others, - 374
40 A recapitulation of the contents of this Book. His extraordinary transports sometimes in the contemplation of God, - - - - 375
41 God, who is the truth, will not be enjoyed together with a lie, - 377
42 For a remedy of all our maladies, we are not to have recourse, with the Platonists, to evil Angels or Demons, 378
43 Christ is the true Mediator, through whom he confidently hopes to be cured of all his Maladies, 379

ST AUGUSTIN'S

CONFESSIONS

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I

HE ADMIRES THE MAJESTY OF GOD, AND DESIRES TO PRAISE AND INVOKE HIM.

1. *THOU art great, O Lord, and exceedingly to be praised*, Psalm 144. *Great is thy power, and of thy wisdom there is no end*, Psalm 146. And yet man has a mind to praise thee, who is one part of thy creation; man bearing about him his mortality, the testimony of his sin, and the testimony that thou, *O God, resistest the proud;* and yet this man, being a piece of thy creation, desires to praise thee. Thou makest it delightful to him to praise thee; because thou hast made us for thee, and our hearts are not at rest, till they rest in thee. Give me, O Lord, to know and understand which is first, to call upon thee or to praise thee: and whether it be first to know thee or to call upon thee.

2. But who is he that calls upon thee, and knows thee not? For if he knows thee not, he may call upon something else instead of

thee. Or are we not to call upon thee, that we may know thee? *But how shall they call upon him in whom they have not believed? And how shall they believe without a preacher?* Rom. 10. *And they shall praise the Lord that seek him.* Psalm 21. For they that seek him shall find him, and they that find him shall praise him. Let me seek thee then, O Lord, calling upon thee: and let me call upon thee, believing in thee, for thou hast been preached to us. My faith calleth upon thee, O Lord, which thou hast given me, which thou hast inspired into me by the Incarnation of thy Son, by the ministry of thy preacher.

CHAPTER II.

GOD IS INCOMPREHENSIBLE.

And how shall I call upon my God, my God and Lord? For to invoke or call upon him, I must call him into myself. And what room is there in me, where my God may come in, where God may come into me, God who made Heaven and Earth. Is there then, O Lord my God, any room so spacious in me that can contain thee? Or can even the Heaven and Earth, which thou hast made, and in which thou hast made me, contain thee? Or is it so, that since nothing that is could be without thee, therefore, whatever is must contain thee? Since then I also am, why do I ask that thou shouldst come into me, who could have no being f thou wert not in me? For I am no;

now so low as Hell, and yet thou art even there also; for *if I go down into Hell thou art there*, Psalm 138. Therefore I should not be, O my God, I should not be at all, if thou wert not in me: or rather, I should not be if I were not in thee, *of whom all things, by whom all things, and in whom are all things.* Rom. 11. It is even so, O Lord, it is even so. Whither then do I call thee, seeing I am in thee? Or from whence shouldst thou come into me? For where can I retire without the limits of Heaven and Earth, that from thence my God should come into me, who has said, *I fill Heaven and Earth.* Jeremiah 25.

CHAPTER III.

GOD FILLS ALL THINGS, AND HAS NO PARTS.

1. Do then Heaven and Earth contain thee because thou fillest them? Or dost thou fill them, and there still remains more of thee, because they cannot contain thee? And where then didst thou dispose of that which remains of thee after thou hast filled Heaven and Earth? Or hast thou no need of any thing at all to contain thee, who containest all things; because the things which thou fillest, thou fillest by containing them? For the vessels which are full of thee do not hold thee up, for though they should be broken thou wouldst not be spilled. And when thou art *poured out upon us*, thou fallest not down, but raisest us up; thou art not scattered, but gatherest us

2. But thou that fillest all things, fillest thou all things with thy whole self? Or since all things cannot contain thee whole, do they contain only a part of thee? And then do they all together contain the same part of thee, or several things several parts, the greater holding more, the lesser less? And is there then some part of thee greater, and some less? Or art thou every where whole, and yet nothing can contain thee whole?

CHAPTER IV

GOD IS INFINITE IN PERFECTION, AND ABOVE ALL PRAISE.

WHAT then art thou, O my God? What else can I say but the Lord my God? For *who is God but the Lord, or who is God but our God?* Psalm 17. O most high, most good, most powerful, most almighty, most merciful and most just, most hidden and most present, most beautiful and most strong, stable and incomprehensible, unchangeable and changing all things, never new, never old, renewing all things, and making old the proud and they know it not: always in action and always at rest; still gathering, and never wanting; supporting and filling and overshadowing all things; creating, nourishing, and perfecting; seeking and yet wanting nothing. Thou lovest without pain, thou art jealous without uneasiness, thou repentest without grief, thou art angry and yet always calm; thou often changest thy

works, yet never thy design. Thou recoverest and findest, and yet never losest any thing Thou art never needy, and yet art pleased with gain; art never covetous, and yet exactest use; men supererogate to thee that thou mayest owe, and yet who has any thing that is not thine? Thou payest debts, and art a debtor to no one; thou forgivest debts and losest nothing: and what is all this that we are saying, O my God, my life, my holy sweet delight, or what is all that any one can say, when he is speaking of thee? And woe be to them that say nothing in thy praise, since the most eloquent are but dumb.

CHAPTER V

HE DESIRES TO REPOSE IN GOD.

1. Oh! who will give me to repose in thee? Oh! who will grant that thou mayest come into my heart and inebriate it; that I may forget my evils, and embrace thee, my only good? What art thou to me? Let thy mercy suffer me to speak, what am I to thee, that thou shouldst command me to love thee, and shouldst be angry with me if I do not love thee? and shouldst threaten me with great miseries? Is it then a small misery not to love thee? Ah! for thy mercy's sake tell me, O Lord my God, what thou art to me. *Say to my Soul, I am thy Salvation*, Psalm 34. Say it so that I may hear. Behold the ears of my heart are before thee, O Lord, open

them, and *say to my Soul I am thy Salvation* I will run after this voice, and will lay hold of thee. O hide not thou thy face from me; let me die to see it that I may not die.

2. The house of my soul is narrow; O let it be enlarged by thee, that it may receive thee: it is very ruinous, be thou pleased to repair it. It has within it such things as will be displeasing in thy sight, I confess and know: but who shall cleanse it? Or to what other besides thee shall I cry out, *From my secret sins cleanse me, O Lord, and for those of others, spare thy Servant?* Psalm 115. I believe, for which reason also I speak; O Lord thou knowest. *Have I not confessed against myself my sins to thee, my God, and thou hast forgiven the wickedness of my heart.* Psalm 25. I do not contend in judgment with thee who art the truth; and I have no mind to deceive myself, lest my inquity lie to itself. Therefore I contend not with thee in judgment: *for if thou shalt observe iniquities, O Lord, Lord, who shall abide it?* Psalm 129.

CHAPTER VI.

HE RELATES HIS INFANCY, AND THE BLESSINGS HE THEN RECEIVED FROM GOD.

1. YET suffer me to speak in the ears of thy mercy, who am but dust and ashes; suffer me to speak, for behold it is to thy mercy I speak, and not to man that may scoff at me: and perhaps thou also for the present laughest at me.

but in good time thou wilt turn to me, and have pity on me. And what is it I would say, O Lord my God, but that my silliness cannot tell how or whence I first came hither, into this dying life, (shall I call it) or living death. And behold immediately the comforts of thy tender mercies attended me, as I have been told by the parents of my flesh, of whom and in whom thou hast formed me in time; for I remember nothing of it. The comforts then of a woman's milk were prepared for me; neither did my mother or my nurses fill their own breasts; but it was thou, O Lord, who through them gavest me that food of my infancy, according to thy ordinance, and the riches of thy bounty which reach even to the lowest things. Thou also gavest to me to desire no more than what thou gavest, and to them that nursed me, to be willing to bestow on me what thou gavest them; for they, by an affection regulated by thy providence, were delighted to impart to me what they abounded with from thee. For it was good for them that I received this good from them, which indeed was not from them, but by them. For from thee, O God, are all good things; and from my God cometh my universal salvation, which I have learned since from thy voice, expressed to me by all these things which thou givest me both within and without: for at that time I knew how to suck, and to be pleased with what was delightful to my flesh, and to cry when I was offended, and nothing more than this. Afterwards I began to smile

and laugh, first when I was asleep, and then when I was awake; for this has been told me of myself, and I believe it, because we see it is so with other infants; for I remember nothing of what then passed in myself.

2. And behold by degrees I began to perceive where I was, and I wanted to declare my desires to those who might content them, and I could not; for my desires were within me, and they were without me, nor could any one of their senses enter into my soul. Therefore I made motions and sounds as signs to express my wants, the few that I could, and such as I could, for they had very little resemblance with what I would express; and when my will was not complied with, either because I was not understood, or because what I desired was hurtful, I was angry that my elders would not be subject to me, and that they who are free would not be my slaves, and I took my revenge upon them by crying. Such have I found other infants to be; and that I was such, they without knowing what they were doing have better informed me than the knowledge of my nurses.

3. And behold my infancy is long since dead, and I am living. But thou, O Lord, who art always living and nothing dies in thee; because before the first beginning of ages, and before all that can be said to be *before*, thou *art*, and art the God and Lord of all things which thou hast created, and with thee the causes of all fleeting things stand ever fixed;

and the origins of all changeable things remain unchanged; and the reasons of all irrational and temporal things live eternally: tell me, O God, thy poor suppliant, thou that art merciful to me that am miserable; tell me whether this my infancy succeeded a younger age of mine expired before? that perhaps which I passed within my mother's womb? For of that life also I have had some information, and have seen women big with child.

4. And what before that life again, my God, my Joy? was I any where, or any thing? For I have no one to tell me these things; neither my father nor my mother could inform me, nor the experience of others, nor my own memory. And dost not thou deride this my curiosity, demanding of thee such questions, who only requirest that I should praise thee, and confess to thee for the things that I know? I confess to thee, O Lord of Heaven and Earth, giving praise to thee for my first beginning, and my infancy which I remember not: and thou hast given to man to make a conjecture of these things in himself from what he sees in others, and to believe many things of himself upon the authority of women. At that time I had a being, and I had life; and towards the end of my infancy I sought for signs by which I might make my thoughts known to others. From whence should such a living creature have its being but from thee, O Lord? Can any one be the artist to make himself? Or can any vein be derived from any other source

by which *being* and *living* can flow into us, but only from thy making us, O Lord, to whom *being* and *living* are all one thing, because sovereign *being* and sovereign *living* is thy very essence. For thou art the most high, and thou art not changed, neither doth to-day ever pass away in thee; and yet in thee it is that it passeth away; because even all these transitory things have their being in thee; for they have not any way to pass but through thee, and because, *thy years fail not*, Psalm 101, thy years are one *to-day*. And how many days of ours and of our fathers have already passed through this thy *to-day;* and from it have received their fashion, and had their being such as it was? And how many more will pass and receive their mould and being? *But thou art still the self-same;* and all the things of tomorrow and beyond it, and all the things of yesterday and whatever is behind it, in this thy day thou shalt make, in this thy day thou hast made them. What is it to me if any understand not this? Let such a one also rejoice, saying, what meaneth this high mystery? Let him rejoice even so, and let him choose rather by not finding to find thee, than by finding not to find thee: [That is, without conceiving these thy sublime truths to embrace thee by faith and love, rather than by the conceiving of them to be puffed up with pride, and so to lose thee.]

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE CORRUPT INCLINATIONS WHICH ARE DISCOVERED EVEN IN INFANTS.

1. HEAR me, O God, woe to the sins of men; and a man saith this, and thou hast mercy on him, because thou hast made him, but didst not make sin in him; who will give me an account of the sins of my infancy? since no one is pure from sin in thy sight, not even the infant that is but a day old, *Job* 25, who will give me an account? Shall it be any other such like little one, in whom I now see what I do not remember of myself? What then was my sin at that time? was it crying greedily after the breast? For if I should at present thus greedily hang over, not the breasts, but the food convenient for my years, I should most justly be derided and reprehended. Therefore at that time I did what deserved reprehension, but because I could not understand reproof, neither custom nor reason suffered me to be reproved; for as we grow up we pluck up and cast these things away. Now no one in cleansing any thing willingly casts away that which is good. Or was it good in that age to require with tears what would have been hurtful if granted; to rage and swell against those that owed it no subjection, against its betters, and its very parents: and to strive by striking at them, to hurt those that were far wiser than itself for not complying with its will,

and obeying its commands which it would have been hurtful to have obeyed? So that it is the weakness of infant limbs, and not their inclination that is innocent. Myself have seen and had experience of such a little one already possessed with jealousy; it had not learned to speak, and yet it would cast a pale and envious look upon its fellow suckling? Who knows not this? and mothers and nurses say they expiate these things with I know not what remedies. In the mean time can I call this innocence, for one most rich in a fountain of milk flowing most plentifully, and overflowing, not so much as to endure another to partake a little with him, and another that is not able to make provision for himself, and that can sustain life only with this food? But such things as these are lovingly borne withal, not that they are none or little evils, but that they will go off as age comes on; which, however, they are at that time allowed, would not be tolerated when discovered in riper years.

2. Thou therefore, O Lord my God, who gavest life to me when an infant, and a body, which, as is seen, thou hast furnished with senses, compacted with limbs, beautified with a comely form, and implanted in it, for the maintaining of its integrity, and for its safety, all the efforts of animal life, commandest me to praise thee for all these things, and to confess to thee, and to sing to thy name, O thou the most high: because thou art my God, omnipotent and good, and wouldst have been

so, even if this had been all which thou hadst done for me; this which no one else could have done but thou alone, from whom is all form, thou the most beautiful, who givest all things their beauty, and by thy ordinance disposest all things.

3. This age therefore of mine, O Lord, in which I do not so much as remember that I lived, concerning which I have believed others, and conjectured from other infants that I also once passed through it, though this be a conjecture much to be relied upon, I am loath to account to the rest of the days which I live in this world; it being in respect of the darkness of my oblivion, much like that which I passed in my mother's womb. But if *I was also conceived in iniquity, and in sins my mother nourished me in her womb*, Psalm 50, where I beseech thee, O my God, where, O Lord, was I thy servant, where or when was I innocent? But behold I pass over that time; for why should I stay longer upon it, which is gone without leaving any footsteps in my memory.

CHAPTER VIII

HE GIVES AN ACCOUNT OF HIS CHILDHOOD, AND OF HIS LEARNING TO SPEAK.

PASSING on from my infancy I came into my childhood, or rather it came into me, and succeeded my infancy: neither did this depart, for whither did it go! and yet it was now no more; for I was now no more

a speechless infant, but a prattling child. And this I can remember; and have since taken notice how it was I first learned to speak; for I was not taught my words by those that were my elders, by a certain order of learning, as a little after I was taught my letters: but I myself by the help of that mind which thou, O my God, hadst given me, after I had by crying, and by broken accents, and various motions, attempted to make known my thoughts that my desires might be complied with; and was not able to explain myself in all things which I would, nor to all to whom I would; I recorded in my memory when I heard them name any thing, and when they moved their body towards the thing named, I observed and perceived that they called that thing by that word, which they pronounced when they pointed at it. And that indeed they meant this thing was discovered by the motion of the body; which is the natural language as it were, common to all nations, expressed by the countenance, by the glance of the eyes; by the gesture of the other parts of the body, and by the sound of the voice, declaring the inward passion of the soul, in her desiring, enjoying, rejecting, or pursuing of things. And so by little and little I grew acquainted with the meaning of many words, by often hearing them repeated, and in several sentences placed in their proper places; and by these I began to declare my mind, using and accustoming my mouth to these signs. Thus I interchanged

with the people amongst whom I lived these signs of our thoughts, and so launched still farther out into the tempestuous society of human life, as yet wholly depending on the authority of my parents, and the beck of my elders

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CHAPTER IX

OF HIS GOING TO SCHOOL.

1 O GOD, my God, what miseries did I here meet with, and what impostures? when what was proposed to me a child as the way of right living was to hearken to such as put me upon seeking to flourish in this world, and excelling in those verbose arts which lead to worldly honours and false riches. And so I was put to school to learn those things in which, poor boy, I knew no profit, and yet if I was negligent in learning, I was whipped: for this method was approved of by my elders; and many that had trod that life before us had chalked out unto us these wearisome ways, through which we were forced to pass with labour and sorrow, multiplied by these means to the sons of *Adam*.

2. And we found, O Lord, men that prayed to thee, and we learned of them to do the same; conceiving thee (according to our capacity) to be some great one, who without being seen by us could hear us and help us. I began therefore when yet a child to pray to thee my only aid and my refuge, and inured my unskilled tongue to the invocation of thy name; and

t begged of thee when a little one, with no little affection, that thou wouldst save me from whipping at school. And when thou didst not hear me, which was not to my harm, my elders, and even my parents who did not wish me any evil, made a jest of those stripes of mine, which were then to my apprehension a great and grievous evil. Is there, O Lord, amongst thine any so great a soul, with so strong an affection cleaving to thee? Is there, I say, any one who by a pious adherence to thee (for a certain senseless stupidity has sometimes this effect) is so much transported as to make a sport of racks and hooks, and such like tortures, from which the whole world with so much fear prays to thee to be delivered; and to laugh at those who are grievously afraid of these things, as our parents ther laughed at those torments, which we children suffered from our masters? For neither had we less horror of these than others of greater torments, nor did we pray less earnestly to be delivered from them: mean while we sinned in not writing, reading, or minding our lessons, as much as was required of us.

3. For we wanted not, O Lord, memory or wit, which thou wast pleased we should have in proportion to our age: but we were fond of play; and we were punished for it by them, that were doing no better; but the boys-play of those that are grown up is named business; whilst the equal toys of children are punished by them: and no one pities the chil-

dren, or them, or both. For who is he that weighing things well, will justify my being beaten when I was a boy, for playing at ball, because by that play I was hindered from learning so quickly those arts, with which, when grown up, I should play far worse; as he was in the mean while doing, by whom I was corrected, who, if overcome in some petty dispute by his fellow teacher, was more racked with choler and envy, than I was when outdone by my play-fellow in a game at ball?

CHAPTER X

HE ACKNOWLEDGES HIS SIN IN NEGLECTING HIS BOOK FOR THE LOVE OF PLAY.

And yet I sinned, (O Lord God, who art the ordainer and Creator of all things natural, and only not the ordainer of sin,) I sinned, O Lord my God, in disobeying the commands of my parents and those of my masters; for I might afterwards turn to a good use that learning, whatever their views might be in desiring me to acquire it; for it was not out of choice of something better that I was disobedient, but out of love of play; pleasing myself with the pride of overcoming my play-fellows, and loving to have my ears scratched with vain praises, that they might itch the more. The same curiosity, still more and more dangerous, beginning also to draw my eyes towards the *shows* and *plays* of those that were more aged; which though they that exhibit them are in so

eminent a reputation, that almost all would wish as much for their children; yet they are well content they should be whipped, if by these *shows* they are hindered from their study, by which study they hope they may one day arrive to be able to exhibit the like. Mercifully regard, O Lord, these things, and deliver us who do now call upon thee; deliver them also, who do not yet call upon thee; that they may call upon thee; and thou mayest deliver them.

CHAPTER XI

OF HIS SICKNESS WHEN HE WAS YET A BOY, AND OF HIS DESIRING BAPTISM, WHICH, UPON HIS RECOVERY, WAS DEFERRED.

1. For I had heard, when yet a child, of life eternal promised to us by the humility of thy Son our Lord God, descending to cure our pride; and I was already signed with the sign of his cross, and was seasoned with his * salt, even from the womb of my mother who had much hope in thee. Thou sawest, O Lord, when as yet I was a child, and was one day ill at my stomach, so that on a sudden I was like to die. Thou sawest, O my God, (for even then thou wast my guardian) with what ear-

* He alludes to the primitive custom of putting salt into the mouths of the *Catechumens*, as an emblem of wisdom, and a preservative from corruption, to intimate a spiritual preseasoning of them for baptism; a ceremony still used in the Catholic Church

nestness, and with what faith I asked for the baptism of thy Christ, my God and Lord, from the piety of my mother and that of thy church, the mother of us all: and how the mother of my flesh being in a fright, (because she was more dearly in labour to bring forth my eternal salvation in her chaste heart in thy faith) was taking care that with all speed I should be initiated and washed by the wholesome sacraments, confessing thee, O Lord Jesus, for the remission of sins, had I not immediately recovered. Upon which my cleansing was put off, as if it were necessary that I should be yet more filthy, if I lived longer; because the guilt of sins contracted after that laver would be more filthy and more dangerous.

2. Thus then at that time I believed, and my mother, and all the family, excepting my father, who yet could not oversway in me the just power of my mother's piety, to make me not believe in Christ, as he at that time did not believe in him; for she made it her care that thou, my God, shouldst be my father more than he; and herein thou didst assist her to overcome her husband, to whom otherwise she, though better, yielded all obedience, because in so doing she obeyed thee. For what reason, O my God, I would willingly know, if it be thy will, was my baptism at that time put off? And whether it were for my good that the reins of sinning were, as it were, left loose? Or were they not left loose? Whence comes it then that on every side we hear it

said of this or that person, *let him alone, let him do what he will, he is not yet baptized?* And yet with regard to the welfare of the body, we do not say, *let him be still more wounded, for he is not yet healed.* How much better then had it been for me to have been quickly healed, that care might have been taken by my friends and my own diligence, that the health of my soul thus recovered might be preserved under thy protection, who gavest it? This surely had been much the better. But how many and how great billows of temptations were like to beset me after my childhood? This my mother very well knew, and chose rather to expose to them the lump of earth, which might afterwards be formed into something, than the image already formed.

CHAPTER XII.

HE IS COMPELLED TO HIS STUDIES AGAINST HIS WILL. HE CONFESSES HIS FAULT THEREIN, AND THE FAULT OF THEM THAT COMPELLED HIM TO IT, THROUGH VAIN AND WORLDLY MOTIVES; BUT GOD DREW GOOD OUT OF ALL.

1. YET in this my childhood, were less danger was apprehended for me than in my youth, I did not love to study, and I hated to be forced to it; and yet I was forced to it, and it was well for me that it was so. But I did not do well; for I only learned by constraint; and none doth well what he doth against his will, though the thing be good which he is doing

Neither did they do well who forced me; but it was thou, my God, that didst well to me: for they that pressed me to learn had no other end in view, to which I should refer this learning than to satisfy the insatiable desires of penurious riches and ignominious glory.

2. But thou, by whom the very hairs of our head are numbered, didst make good use of their error, who forced me to learn, to my profit; and of my error, in being unwilling to learn, to my punishment; for I well deserved to be punished, being so little a boy and so great a sinner. Thus didst thou do well to me by those that did not well; and didst justly turn my sin to my own punishment; for thou hadst decreed it, and so it always happens, that every disordered soul shall be to itself its own punishment.

CHAPTER XIII

HE PREFERS POETICAL FABLES TO MORE USEFUL STUDIES.

1. But what should be the reason why I hated *Greek*, which I was taught when I was a little boy, I don't as yet well understand. For *Latin* I liked very well; I mean not that which the first masters teach, but that which is taught by those who are called grammarians. For that first learning to read, and to write, and to cast up an account, I thought no less troublesome and vexatious than the *Greek*. And from whence was this also, but from sin and

the vanity of life? because I was *flesh and a spirit going and not returning*, Psalm 77. For that first learning was indeed the better, because more certain (by which I acquired, and still retain the facility of reading whatever I find written, and writing myself what I have a mind) than that which filled my head with the wanderings of one *Æneas*, whilst I forgot my own wanderings; and made me shed tears for the death of *Dido*, who killed herself for love, when in the mean while, wretched creature as I was, I passed by with dry eyes myself, dying in these things from thee, O God, my life. For what more miserable than for one that is in misery to have no commiseration on himself? and to weep for the death of *Dido* caused by the love of *Æneas*, and not to bewail his own death caused by not loving thee?

2. O God, the light of my heart, and the bread of the inward mouth of my soul, and the power espousing my mind and the bosom of my thought, I did not then love thee, and I went after impurity from thee, and on every side of me was echoed, *well done*, *well done*, *for the friendship of this world is fornication from thee*. James 4. And they cry out, *well done*, *well done*, that a man may be ashamed not to be such. And these things I lamented not; but I wept for *Dido*, indulging her passion of love to the extremity of despair, whilst I myself was following *extremities*, that is, the lowest of thy creatures forsaking thee, earth tending towards earth; and if I was hindered from

reading these things, I grieved because I did not read that which might make me grieve Such fooleries as these were accounted a more honourable and better study than that by which I learned to read and write.

3. But now let my God speak within my soul, and let thy truth say to me, it is not so, it is not so, that former learning is far the better. For I had rather forget *Æneas's* travels, and all such like toys, than to write and read They hang up veils, it is true, before the doors of the grammar-schools; but these may as well signify a cover for their error, as the honour of secrecy. Let not these men cry out against me, of whom I stand now in no fear, whilst I am confessing to thee, my God, what my soul has a mind, and am pleased with the accusing of my own evil ways, that I may love thy good ways. Let not the sellers or buyers of grammar cry out against me; for if I should ask them the question whether it be true, that *Æneas* ever came to *Carthage*, as the poet affirms? the unlearned will answer that they do not know; and the learned will say that it is not true But if I should ask how *Æneas's* name is spelt, all they who have learned to read and write will answer what is true, according to that agreement and law by which men have among themselves established these signs.

4. If again I should ask which of the two it would be a greater inconvenience to forget, to read and write, or those poetical fables, who does not see what every man must answer who

does not quite forget himself? I sinned therefore when a boy, in having a greater love for those empty things, than those that were more profitable; or rather in hating the latter, and loving the former. In like manner, *one and one make two, and two and two make four*, was an odious repetition to me, whilst the wooden horse full of armed men, and the ghost of *Creusa* afforded to my vanity a most agreeable spectacle.

CHAPTER XIV

HE IS LESS PLEASED WITH THE GREEK POETRY THAN WITH THE LATIN.

1. But why then did I hate the grammar learning of the *Greeks*, full of the like fictions? For *Homer* also with great art has woven together such like tales, and is most agreeably vain; and yet he was disagreable to me when a boy. And so, I believe, would *Virgil* be to the boys of *Greece*, if they were forced to learn him with difficulty, as I did the other: for the difficulty of learning a strange tongue did, as it were, sprinkle with gall all the sweets of the fabulous *Greek* narrations; for I knew none of the words, and cruel terrors and stripes were employed to force me to learn them. It is true, there was a time, (viz. when I was an infant) when I knew no *Latin* neither: but this tongue I learned by observing others, without being frightened into it, or forced by the rod, amidst the flatterings of my nurses,

and the dalliances of such as smiled upon me, and the mirth of those that played with me And I learned then without a penal constraint from others, being urged by my own heart to bring forth its thoughts, which I could not do without learning words, not from masters that taugnt me, but from such as talked with me, in whose ears I also did bring forth what my mind conceived. Whence it appears, that free curiosity has a greater force to learn such things than timorous necessity. But the one restrains the over eager course of the other, by thy laws, O God, by thy laws, from the master's ferula to the trials of the martyrs; thy laws, that know how to mix together wholesome bitternesses, which may call us back to thee from that pestiferous sweetness which allured us to depart from thee.

CHAPTER XV

HE PRAYS TO GOD, AND OFFERS TO HIM THE FRUITS OF HIS LEARNING.

1. O LORD, hear my prayer; let not my soul ever faint under thy discipline; neither let me ever be weary in confessing to thee thy mercies, by which thou hast drawn me out of all my wicked ways, that thou mayest become sweet to me above all the delusions that I have followed, that I may love thee most earnestly and may embrace thy hand with all the affection of my soul, that thou mayest deliver me from all temptations to the end.

2. For behold thou, O Lord, art my king: may every useful thing I learned when a child be referred to thy service: may it be for thy service that I speak, and write, and read, and cast accounts; because when I was learning vain things, thou didst instruct me; and the sins that I committed by taking delight in them, thou hast forgiven me; for I learned in them many useful words; but these also may be as well learned in things not vain, and that would be a safer way for children to walk in.

CHAPTER XVI.

HE INVEIGHS AGAINST LASCIVIOUS FABLES.

1. But woe be to thee, O torrent of human custom! Who shall stop thy course? how long will it be ere thou art dried up? How long wilt thou carry down the children of *Eve* into that great and frightful sea which they that are the best embarked shall hardly pass over? Have I not read in thee both of a thundering and of an adulterating *Jove*? and certainly he could not do both these things: but so it was feigned, that men might be authorized to imitate true adultery, thus countenanced by false thunder. Now which of these cloaked masters will hearken with a sober ear to a man of the like profession, crying out and saying, *Homer feigned these things, and transferred to the gods the passions of men: how much better had it been to have transferred divine things to us?* But it is more true

to say, that he feigned these things indeed; but by attributing divinity to flagitious men, that such crimes might not be esteemed crimes, and that whosoever committed them might not seem to have imitated wicked men, but heavenly deities.

2. And yet, Oh! hellish stream, the children of men are daily cast into thee, paying dearly that they may learn these things; and a great bustle there is when this is done publicly in the *Forum*, in the sight of the laws, ordering salaries for the reward of the actors: and thou dashest thy waves upon thy rocks and makest a roaring noise, saying, *here pure learning is learned, here eloquence is acquired, which is so necessary to bring over men to your opinion, and explain your thoughts to advantage* As if we should not have known those elegant words, *the golden shower*, and *the lap*, and the *deceit*, and the *temples of heaven*, and the rest which are written in the same place, unless *Terence* had introduced a wicked young man proposing to himself *Jove* for a pattern of lewdness, whilst he looks on a picture upon the wall, in which was described, how they say, *Jupiter* once upon a time poured into *Danae's* lap a golden shower, by which the woman was deceived Now see how he excites himself to lust, as if taught from heaven.

3. *And what God was it?* says he, *was it not he that with his thunder shakes the temples of heaven? And should I poor mortal scruple to do it? Indeed I did it, and that willingly.*

It is not true that these words are better learned by being employed to express this uncleanness; but this uncleanness is more confidently attempted, being recommended by these words. I do not blame the words, which are, as it were, choice and precious vessels; but the wine of error, which in them was presented to us to drink by our masters, who were already drunk with it; and were beaten, if we did not drink, nor could we appeal to any sober judge But I, O my God, in whose presence my remembrance is now without fear, learned these things willingly, and wretch as I was, took delight in them, and for this was called a hopeful boy

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CHAPTER XVII

HE LAMENTS THE MISUSE OF HIS WIT EMPLOYED IN VAIN EXERCISES.

1. PERMIT me, O my God, to say something also of my wit, thy gift, in what fooleries I was then employed. A task was set me, troublesome enough to my spirit, for which I was either to be rewarded with praise, or punished with disgrace and stripes, that I should render the words of *Juno* [*Æneid* 1.] raging and grieving that she *could not divert the* Trojan *prince from* Italy, which I had never heard *Juno* utter; but we were forced tracing error to follow the footsteps of poetical fictions, and to deliver something in prose like that which the poet had expressed in verse And he

spoke with most applause, who, agreeably to the dignity of the person represented, most perfectly expressed the like passions of rage and grief in proper words and sentences.

2. And what did it avail me, O thou my true life, my God, that my performance was applauded beyond that of many others of my age, and my school-fellows? Behold are not all such things smoke and wind? And was there not something else in which my wit and my tongue might have been better exercised? thy praises, O Lord, yea, thy praises in thy scriptures might have held up the tender branch of my heart, that it might not be trailed upon the ground amongst such empty trifles, a filthy prey to birds. For there are more ways than one of sacrificing to the fallen angels.

CHAPTER XVIII.

HE COMPLAINS THAT HE WAS MISGUIDED BY MEN THAT WERE MORE ASHAMED OF THE BREACH OF GRAMMAR RULES THAN OF THE LAW OF GOD.

1. But what wonder was it that I was thus carried away after vanities, and went abroad from thee, O my God; when such men were proposed to my imitation, who if they should relate any of their actions, though not ill, with a barbarism or solecism, being censured for it, were ashamed and confounded; but if they should declare their lusts in proper and well connected words, with a copious and florid

style, they were applauded and puffed up with pride. Thou seest these things, O Lord, and holdest thy peace, being *long suffering, and very merciful, and true.* And wilt thou always hold thy peace? And now thou drawest out from this exceeding deep pit the soul that seeketh thee, and that thirsteth after thy delights, and whose *heart saith to thee, I have sought thy face, thy face, O Lord, I will still seek*, Psalm 26. But I was then gone far from the light of thy face by my dark affections. For it is not by the feet, nor by motion from place to place that men go from thee; or return to thee; or did thy *prodigal son* (Luke 15,) procure himself horses, or chariots, or ships, or did he fly away with visible wings, or make his journey by the motion of his feet, when living in a far country he riotously wasted away what thou gavest him at his setting forth? A kind father for giving him so much, and more kind in receiving him when he returned so poor to thee! But his going from thee was by lustful affections; for these are dark, and therefore far from the light of thy countenance.

2. Behold, O Lord God, and behold with thy accustomed patience, how carefully the sons of men observe the laws of letters and syllables received from those who have delivered their language to them, and neglect the eternal laws of their everlasting welfare received from thee; insomuch that if he, who holds or teaches the old rules of pronunciation,

should, contrary to the laws of grammar, without the aspiration, say [*Ominem*] to express a *man*, he would displease men more than if, contrary to thy commandments, he should hate a man; being himself a man. As if the hatred which he bears to any one was not a more pernicious enemy than he whom he hates; or as if another by persecuting him could do him more mischief, than his own heart does by bearing malice. And certainly no learning is more deeply imprinted in the soul, than that law written in our conscience, *not to do by another what we would not be willing to suffer from another.*

3. O God, who alone art great, how secret art thou, who dwellest on high in silence, with an unwearied hand sprinkling penal blindnesses upon unlawful lusts? When a man is ambitious to be counted eloquent, standing before a mortal judge, surrounded with a crowd of men, declaring against his enemy with implacable hatred, he takes extreme care lest by a slip of tongue, he chance to say [*inter Hominibus,*] to signify *amongst men*, but takes no care lest by the fury of his mind he happens to destroy a man from *amongst men.*

CHAPTER XIX

OF HIS LIES TO HIS GOVERNORS, THEFTS FROM HIS PARENTS, AND CHEATING OF HIS PLAY-FELLOWS.

1. In the first entry of such customs as these, wretch as I was, did I lie when as yet a boy; and this was that stage upon which I was more afraid to let fall a solecism, than I was if I had made any, to envy such as made none. These things I now declare and confess to thee, O my God, for which I was commended by them whom I thought it a virtue to please. For I discerned not that gulph of filthiness wherein I then lay cast forth from thy eyes. For in thy eyes what could be more filthy than I then was; who even many ways displeased such eyes as theirs, whilst with innumerable lies I deceived my tutor and masters, and parents through love of play, desire to see vain shows, and restlessness to imitate such fooleries?

2. I also was guilty of stealing out of my parent's cellar, and from their table, either to satisfy my gluttony, or have sometning to give to other boys, who for it sold their play to me, with which they were delighted no less than I: in which play I also often sought to overcome by cheating, whilst I myself was miserably overcome by the vain desire of excelling; and what was there I was more unwilling to suffer, and more sharply taxed when I discovered it in others, than that which I did

to others? And when I was caught doing it and reprehended for it, I would rather quarrel than yield.

3. Is this that innocence of children? It is not, O Lord: O Lord, it is not: I implore thy mercy, O my God. For these same things are but acted over again from our first subjection to pedagogues and masters, and our playing with nuts, and balls, and sparrows, to our subjection afterwards to magistrates and kings, and gaining gold, and manors, and slaves. The same as we grow older pass into greater toys, as our ferulas are succeeded by greater punishments. It was then the emblem of humility in the stature of children that thou, our king, didst approve when thou saidst, *of such is the kingdom of Heaven*, St. Matt. 19, 14.

CHAPTER XX.

HE PRAISES GOD FOR THE MANY GOOD ENDOWMENTS OF HIS CHILDHOOD.

1. And yet, O Lord, thanks be to thee, the most excellent and best maker and ruler of all the universe, our God, although thou hadst never made me any thing more than a child. For I had a being at that time, and I had life and sense, and a care for the maintaining of this my individual, an impression and foot-step of that most sacred unity of thine from which I had my being: I watched over the integrity of my senses with an interior sense: and in

little things, and in the thoughts of little things I was delighted with truth, and was unwilling to be deceived; I had strength of memory, a facility of speech, and a pleasure in friendship; I fled from pain, and abjection, and ignorance; what was there in such a creature that was not wonderful and praise-worthy?

2. But all these things are the gifts of my God: I gave not these things to myself; and they are good things, and they are myself. He therefore is good that made me, and he is *my Good*, and in him I rejoice in all those good things, in which I was when a child; for my sin was in this, that not in him, but in his creatures, I sought myself and other pleasures, honours and truths, and so fell upon sorrows, confusion, and errors. Thanks be to thee, my God, my sweet delight, my glory, and all my trust; thanks be to thee, for thy gift; but be thou pleased to keep them for me; for by so doing thou wilt keep me; and the things which thou hast given me will grow and be perfected, and I shall be with thee, because my being also is thy gift.

ST AUGUSTIN'S

CONFESSIONS.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I

AN ACCOUNT OF HIS YOUTH.

1. I WILL now call to mind the uncleannesses of my former life, and the carnal corruptions of my soul, not that I love them, but that I may love thee, my God. For the love of thy love I do this, reviewing my most wicked ways in the bitterness of my remembrance, that thou mayest become sweet to me, who art a sweetness without deceit, a sweetness happy and secure; recollecting me from that dispersion in which I was rent, as it were, piecemeal, whilst departing from *one* [*i. e.* from the one Sovereign Good] I was lost in the pursuit of many [*i. e.* of multiplicity of creatures.]

2. For there was a time when I was all on fire in my youth to be satiated with the things below, and I ventured to spread and branch out into various and shady loves; and the beauty of my soul was consumed away, and I was quite putrified in thy sight, whilst I was pleasing myself and desiring to please the eyes of men

CHAPTER II

OF HIS UNRULY LUSTS IN THE SIXTEENTH YEAR OF HIS AGE.

1. And what was it that delighted me but to love and to be loved? But in this love the due manner was not observed betwixt soul and soul, as far as the bounds of friendship go without fault, but black vapours were exhaled from the muddy concupiscence of the flesh, and the bubbling source of my luxuriant age, which so overclouded and darkened my heart, as not to discern the serenity of love from the obscurity of lust. Both boiled together within me, and hurried my unsettled age down the cliffs of unlawful desires, and plunged me into the gulph of criminal actions. Thy wrath was grown strong against me, and I knew it not. I was deafened with the noise of the chain of my mortality, the punishment of the pride of my soul, and I went still further from thee, and thou didst let me alone; and I was tossed hither and thither, and poured out, and was shed abroad, and boiled over by my fornications, and thou wast silent. Oh! my Joy, which was so long deferred! thou wast silent then, and I departed still farther from thee, after more and more barren seeds of sorrows, by a proud dejection and an unquiet weariness, [*i. e.* sinking down the more by how much the more my pride aspired to raise me up; and ever weary yet never quiet.]

2. Oh! who was there then to restrain my misery? and render useful the fleeting beauties of these lowest things, and set bounds to their allurements, that those billows of that age of mine might have broken themselves upon the shore of lawful marriage; and if they could not otherwise be calmed, be contented at least with the end of bringing children into the world, as thy law prescribes, O Lord, who framest the stock of our mortality, being able with a gentle hand to moderate the sharpness of these thorns [of concupiscence] shut out from thy Paradise? For thy omnipotence is not far from us, even then when we are far from thee. Or else I myself might have more vigilantly attended to the voice of thy clouds sounding to me from above, *such shall have tribulation of the flesh; but I spare you*, 1 Cor. 7. And *it is good for a man not to touch a woman* And again, *he that is unmarried thinketh of the things that are of God, how he may please God, but he that is married thinketh of the things that are of the world, how he may please his wife.*

3. I might therefore have heard these words with more attention, and so making myself an *Eunuch for the Kingdom of Heaven*, look for thy more happy embraces: but I broke out, wretch as I was; following the violent bent of my loose inclinations, leaving thee: and I passed all the bounds set by thy laws: nor did I escape thy scourges: for what mortal could ever pretend to this? for thou wert always

upon my back, mercifully severe, and besprinkling with most bitter disquiets all my unlawful pleasures, that so I might seek out for a pleasure without disgust, and not being able to find it any where else, might seek it in thee, *who makest labour in the precept*, Psalm 93, *v.* 20, and who woundest that thou mayest heal, and killest us that we may not die from thee.

4. Where was I, and at how great a distance was I banished from the delight of thy house in that sixteenth year of the age of my flesh; when the fury of lust, licensed by the shameless practice of men, but ever prohibited by thy holy laws, has received the sceptre in me, and I wholly yielded myself up to it? In the mean time my friends took no care to prevent my ruin by lawful marriage; but were only careful that I should learn to make fine speeches, and become a great orator.

CHAPTER III

HIS LIVING IDLE AT HOME CONTRIBUTED TO HIS SINS, FROM WHICH HIS HOLY MOTHER ENDEAVOURED TO DIVERT HIM.

1. Now for that year my studies were intermitted, I being called home from *Madaura*, in which neighbouring city I had been for a while applied to learning and oratory, and the expences of my studying farther from home at *Carthage*, being in the mean time providing by the resoluti n of my father which went beyond

his wealth, he being a citizen of *Tagaste*, of a very small estate. To whom am I relating these things? Not to thee, O my God, but in thy presence, to my fellow mortals, of the same human kind as I am, how small soever a part of them it may be which shall light upon these my writings: and to what end do I do this? But that both I and they who read this may reflect from how *profound a depth* we must still be crying to thee. And what is nearer to thy ears than a confessing heart and a life of faith? For who did not then highly commend my father, for laying out in behalf of his son, even beyond the strength of his estate, which was necessary for the carrying on his studies at that great distance from home; whereas many citizens, far more wealthy than he, did no such thing for their children; whilst in the mean time this same father took no care of my growing up to thee, or by my being chaste, provided I was but eloquent [*disertus*] or rather [*desertus*] forsaken and uncultivated of thee, who art the one true and good Lord of thy field my heart.

2. But when in that sixteenth year of my age I began to live idly at home with my parents, whilst domestic necessities caused a vacation from school, the briars of lust grew over my head, and there was no hand to root them up. Nay, when that father of mine saw me in the Bagnio now growing towards man, and perceived in me the unquiet motions of youth, as if from hence he were big with hopes of

grand-children, he related it to my mother with joy; intoxicated with the generality of the world, by the fumes of the invisible wine of their own perverse will, whilst forgetting thee their Creator, and loving thy creature instead of thee, they stoop down to rejoice in these lowest of things. But in my mother's breast thou hadst already begun thy temple, and the foundation of thy holy habitation; for my father was as yet only a *Catechumen*, and that but of late. She therefore upon hearing it, was seized with fear and trembling; being concerned for me, though I was not baptized, lest I should stray into those crooked ways in which worldlings walk, who turn not their face but their back upon thee.

3. Alas! and dare I say that thou wert silent, O my God, when I was wandering still farther from thee? And wast thou silent indeed? And whose then but thine were those words, which, by my mother, thy faithful servant, thou didst sing in my ears, though no part of it descended into my heart to perform it? For she desired, and I remember how she secretly admonished me with great solicitude, to keep myself pure from women, and above all to take care of defiling any one's wife; which seemed to me to be but the admonitions of a woman, which I should be ashamed to obey; but they were thy admonitions, and I knew it not; and I supposed thee to be silent whilst she spoke, whereas by her thou didst speak to me and in her wast despi-

sed by me, by me her son, *the son of thy handmaid thy servant*, Psalm 115. But I knew it not, and rushed on headlong with so much blindness, that amongst my equals I was ashamed of being less filthy than others; and when I heard them bragging of their flagitious actions, and boasting so much the more by how much the more beastly they were, I had a mind to do the like, not only for the pleasure of it, but that I might be praised for it.

4. Is there any thing but vice that is worthy of reproach? Yet I became more vicious to avoid reproach; and when nothing came in my way, by committing which I might equal the most wicked, I pretended to have done what I had not done, lest I should be esteemed more vile by how much I was more chaste. Behold with what companions I was walking in the streets of *Babylon;* and I wallowed in the mire thereof, as if it were spices and precious perfumes, and that in the very midst of it, the invisible enemy trod me down and seduced me, because I was willing to be seduced: neither did that mother of my flesh, (who was escaped out of the midst of *Babylon*, but walked yet with a slow pace in the skirts thereof) as she admonished me to be chaste, so take care to restrain that lust (which her husband had discovered to her in me, and which she knew to be so infectious for the present and dangerous for the future) within the bounds of conjugal affection, if it could not otherwise be cured: she did not care for this

method, for fear my hope should be spoiled by the fetters of a wife; not that hope of the world to come which my mother had in thee, but the hope of my proficiency in learning, upon which both my parents were too much intent: he because he scarce thought at all of thee; and of me nothing but mere empty vanities; and she, because she supposed that those usual studies of sciences would be no hindrance, but rather some help towards the coming to thee. For so I conjecture, recollecting as well as I can the manners of my parents. Then also were the reins let loose to spend my time in play, beyond what a due severity would allow, which gave occasion to my being more dissolute in various inclinations; and in them all there was a mist intercepting, O my God, from me the serenity of thy truth, *and my iniquities proceeded, as it were, from the fat*, Psalm 72. *v.* 7

CHAPTER IV

HE CONFESSES A THEFT OF HIS YOUTH DONE OUT OF MERE WANTONNESS.

1. THY law, O Lord, punisheth theft, and a law written in the hearts of men, which even iniquity itself cannot blot out. For what thief is willing to have another steal from him? For even he that is rich will not endure another stealing for want. Yet I had a mind to commit theft, and I committed it, not for want or need, but loathing to be honest and longing to

sin; for I stole that of which I had plenty, and much better. Neither was I fond of enjoying the things that I stole, but only fond of the theft and the sin. There was a pear-tree near our vineyard, loaded with fruit, which were neither tempting for their beauty nor their taste. To shake off and carry away the fruit of this tree, a company of wiched youths of us went late at night, having, according to a vicious custom, being playing till then in the yards; and thence we carried great loads, not for our eating, but even to be cast to the hogs; and if we tasted any of them, the only pleasure therein was, because we were doing what we should not do.

2. Behold my heart, O my God, behold my heart, of which thou hast had pity when it was in the midst of the bottomless pit. Behold, let my heart now tell thee what it was it then sought. That I might even be wicked without cause, and have nothing to tempt me to evil, but the ugly evil itself. And this I loved; I loved to perish, I loved to be faulty; not the thing in which I was faulty, but the very faultiness I loved. Oh! filthy soul, and falling from thy firmament to its utter ruin; affecting not something disgraceful, but disgrace itself.

N. B.—*After his return home to* Africa *he made ample restitution for those pears he had stolen.*

CHAPTER V.

THAT MEN SIN NOT WITHOUT SOME APPEARANCE OR PRETENCE OF GOOD.

1. THERE is a tempting appearance in beautiful bodies, in gold, and silver, and the rest. And in the sense of the touch there is an agreeableness that is taking; and in like manner the other senses find their pleasures in their respective objects. So temporal honour, and the power of commanding and excelling hath something in it that is attractive; hence also arises the desire of revenge. And yet we must not, for the gaining of all or any of these things, depart from thee, O Lord, nor turn aside from thy law. The life also which we live here, hath its allurement, by reason of a certain kind of beauty in it, and the proportion which it hath to all the rest of these lower beauties. Likewise the friendship of men is dearly sweet by the union of many souls together.

2. Upon occasion of all these and the like things sin is committed, when by an immoderate inclination to them, which have but the lowest place amongst good things, men forsake the best and highest goods, viz. thee, O Lord our God, and thy truth, and thy law. For these lowest things have indeed their delights, but not like my God who made all things; because in him doth the just delight, and he is the joy of the upright of heart. Therefore

when the question is for what cause any crime was done, it is not usually believed but where it appears that there might be some desire of acquiring some of these lowest of goods, or fear of losing them: for they are fair and beautiful; though in comparison of those superior goods and beatific joys they are mean and contemptible.

3 A man hath murdered another. Why did he do it? He was in love with his wife, or his estate; or he did it that he might rob him to support his own life; or he was afraid of suffering the like from him; or he had been injured, and sought to be revenged. Would he commit a murder without a cause, merely for the sake of the murder; who can imagine this? For as for that furious and exceeding cruel man [*Cataline*] of whom a certain author has written that *he chose to be wicked and cruel* gratis; the cause is assigned in the same place, *lest*, says he, *his hand or his mind should be weakened for want of exercise.* And to what end did he refer this also? That being thus exercised in wickedness, he might be enabled to surprise the city [*Rome*] and obtain honours, power, riches, and be delivered from the fear of the laws, and the difficulties he laboured under through want of an estate, and a guilty conscience. Therefore even *Cataline* himself was not in love with his crimes, but with something else, for the sake of which he committed them

CHAPTER VI

THAT THE GOOD WHICH MEN PRETEND TO IN SIN IS NOT TO BE FOUND BUT IN GOD.

1. WHAT was it then, O my theft, O wicked nocturnal exploit of the sixteenth year of my age, what was it that wretched I loved in thee? For beautiful thou wast not, since thou wert a theft. Or art thou any thing at all, that I should thus speak to thee? Those pears indeed were beautiful which we stole because they were the work of thy hands, O most beautiful of all, creator of all, my good God, my sovereign good, and my true good; they were beautiful indeed; but it was not after them that my poor soul lusted, for I had plenty of better at home: but those I took only for the sake of stealing; for after I had taken them, my appetite being satisfied, I flung them away, enjoying nothing thereof but the iniquity in which I was delighted. For if any of that fruit entered into my mouth, nothing made it agreeable to me but the sin.

2. And now, O Lord my God, I am seeking what it was that delighted me in that theft. And behold, I can find no beauty in it. Not only no such beauty as is found in justice and prudence, or in the mind of man, and his memory and senses, and vegetable life; nor such as is found in the stars, which are glorious and beautiful in their orbs; nor such as is found in so many kinds of creatures in the earth and sea,

which by a constant course of generation succeed one another; but not even that faint and imperfect shadow of beauty which often imposes upon us in cheating vices. For thus *pride* aims at *highness;* whereas thou alone art the *most high* God above all things. And what does *ambition* pretend to, but *honours* and *glory?* whereas thou alone art sovereignly *honourable* and eternally *glorious.* And the *cruelty* of men in *power* seeks to be *feared,* and who indeed is to be *feared* but God alone, from whose *power* what, or when, or where, or how, or by whom can any thing be, either by force or fraud, withdrawn? And the caresses of the *lascivious* seek to be *loved;* whereas nothing is so dearly sweet as thy *love,* nor is any thing so savingly *loved* as that charming *truth* of thine, infinitely exceeding all beauties and brightness. And *curiosity* pretends a desire of *knowledge;* whereas it is thou that most perfectly *knowest all things.* Even *ignorance* itself, and *folly* affect the name of *simplicity* and *innocence,* because nothing can be found more truly *simple* than thee; and what can be more *innocent,* since thy works hurt none but the evil? *Sloth* also seeks, as it where, to be at rest; and what sure rest can there be but in the Lord; *luxury* desires to be called *satiety* and *abundance;* now it is thou that art the fulness and inexhaustible store of incorruptible sweetness. *Prodigality* hides itself under the shadow of *liberality;* but the most exceedingly *liberal bestower* of all good things is no other than thy-

self. *Avarice* seeks to *possess much;* and thou *possessest all* things. *Envy* quarrels about being *preferred* before others; and what is so *excellent* as thyself? *Anger* seeks *revenge;* and who executes *revenge* justly like thee, *fear* has a horror of *unusual and sudden* accidents, enemies to the things which are loved, in which she seeks to be safe; now to thee only it is that nothing can happen *sudden* or *unusual;* or who can take from thee what thou lovest? Or where is any settled *safety* but with thee? *Sadness* pines away for the loss of those things, in the enjoyment of which *cupidity* was delighted; because she would not have any thing be *taken away;* as nothing can be *taken away* from thee. Thus the poor soul goes astray when she turns aside from thee, and seeks out of thee those things, which she can no where find pure and clear till she returns to thee. Perversely and in a wrong way all those imitate thee, who depart far from thee, and raise themselves against thee; yet even in this perverse way of imitating thee, they show that thou art the creator of all nature, and therefore that there is no room therein, whither they can retire, so as to depart quite from thee.

3. What then was it that I loved in that theft? Or in what did I there, though viciously and perversely, imitate my Lord? Was it that I was pleased to act against the law, by *deceit* at least, since I could not by *power;* and thus being a slave indeed sought to imitate a

lame kind of *liberty*, in doing that in which I might be *free* from punishment, though not *free* from guilt, by a dark resemblance of thy *Omnipotence*

CHAPTER VII

HE GIVES THANKS TO GOD FOR THE REMISSION OF HIS SINS, AND FOR HAVING BEEN PRESERVED FROM MANY OTHER OFFENCES.

BEHOLD here is that slave flying from his Lord, and embracing a shadow. O corruption! O monster of life, and depth of death! Was it possible that I should lust after that which was not lawful, barely because it was not lawful? *What return shall I make to the Lord*, that my memory now reflects on these things, and my soul is not in fear about them? May I love thee, O Lord, and give thee thanks, and confess to thy name, because thou hast forgiven me such and so great sins and wicked actions. It is owing to thy grace, and to thy mercy, that thou hast dissolved like ice the sins that I committed. I impute it also to thy grace, whatever other sins I have not committed; for what evil was there that I was not capable of acting, who loved such a crime for the crime's sake? And I confess that all have been forgiven me [by baptism] as well the evils I committed by my own will, as those which by thy providence I committed not.

2. What man is there, who, weighing his own weakness, dares to attribute his chastity

or his innocence to his own strength; and so love thee less, as if he were less obliged to thy mercy, by which thou remittest sins to those that are converted to thee? For whoever he is who, being called by thee, hath followed thy voice, and hath avoided these things which he here readeth me recounting, and confessing my guilt; let him not scorn me, because, being sick, I received my cure from that same physician who preserved him from being sick, or rather from being so sick. And therefore let him love thee as much, yea, rather more; because by that same hand by which he sees me recovered from so great maladies of my sins, he sees himself preserved from being involved in evils as great.

CHAPTER VIII

HE STILL INQUIRES WHAT IT WAS THAT HE LOVED IN THIS THEFT, AND FINDS THAT HE SHOULD NOT HAVE DONE IT WITHOUT COMPANY.

1. *WHAT fruit had I then*, poor soul, *in these things which, now* remembering, *I am ashamed of*, Rom. 6, especially in that theft, in which I loved the theft itself, and nothing else? And this itself was nothing, and therefore the more wretched I that loved it. And yet if I had been alone I should not have done it, for such I remember was my disposition at that time, that if I had been alone I should certainly not have done it. Therefore I loved therein the company of those with whom I did

it; and so loved something besides the theft, though this something is still nothing.

2. For what is it in reality? Who shall here teach me, but he that enlightens my heart, and discerns the shades thereof? What is this that comes now into my mind to seek, and examine, and consider? For if I had loved the fruit which I stole, and only desired to enjoy the same; I might, if this were enough, have executed the sin alone, and so compassed my pleasure, without inflaming the itch of my inordinate desire, by the mutual rubbings of other conscious minds; but as I had no delight in the fruit, the whole pleasure was in the wicked action, and was made by the company of others, who were partners in the sin

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CHAPTER IX

WHAT WAS IT THAT MADE HIM COMMIT THAT THEFT

1. WHAT was then that disposition of my mind? For indeed it was exceedingly filthy, and wretched was I under it. But yet what was it? *Who can understand sins*, Ps. 18. It was a laughter, as if the heart was tickled, that we were deceiving those who little imagined we were doing any such thing, and would by no means have had us do it. Why then did it delight me not to do it alone? Was it because one seldom laughs by one's self? Though sometimes laughter overcomes persons when they are all alone, when something

very ridiculous presents itself to their senses or imaginations. But this I should never have done alone, I certainly should not.

2. Behold the lively remembrance of my soul is before thee, O my God, that I should not have done that theft alone, in which it was not that which I stole delighted me, but the stealing, which I should have had no pleasure in if I had done it alone. O friendship, too great an enemy! O seduction of the mind, and unaccountable greediness of doing mischief out of play and wantonness; and an appetite of another's loss, without any gain to myself, or desire of revenge! but only because it is said, *let us go, let us do it*, and one is ashamed not to be shameless.

CHAPTER X

HE ASPIRES TO GOD, THE SOVEREIGN REST

WHO can untie this knot, that is so involved and entangled? It is very foul, I will look no longer upon it, I will turn away my eyes. I will look after thee, O justice and innocence, ever fair and beautiful, with chaste eyes and insatiable satisfaction. With thee is true rest and life undisturbed, he that enters into thee *enters into the joy of his Lord*, St. Matt 25, and he shall have nothing to fear, but shall be exceedingly well in the sovereign good. From thee, O my God, I was fallen off, and from thy stability I was gone too much astray in my youth, and so became to myself a land of misery and want

ST. AUGUSTIN'S

CONFESSIONS

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I

OF HIS JOURNEY TO CARTHAGE, AND THE SINFUL INCLINATIONS HE HAD THERE.

1. I CAME to *Carthage*, and there the frying pan of vicious loves was crackling on every side of me. I was not yet in love, and I longed to be in love, and out of a more secret want I hated myself because I wanted less. I sought out for one to love, in love with being loved, and I hated safety and a way without snares. Because there was a famine within me of that interior food, which is no other than thyself, O my God; and that famine did not cause a hunger in me, but I was without any appetite for incorruptible aliments; not because I was full, but because the more empty I was, the more I loathed this kind of nourishment. And for that reason my soul was sick, and being full of ulcers miserably broke out, greedy of being scratched by the touch of sensible things. Yet if they had not a soul too, they would not be loved For to love and to be loved, affected

me most, if I could enjoy the person that loved me.

3. Thus I defiled the vein of friendship with the filth of concupiscence, and obscured its brightness with clouds sent up from the lowest hell of lust: and yet filthy and nasty as I was, I pretended to be fine and well-bred by an excess of vanity. And I quickly overtook love, whose prisoner I desired to be. O my God, my mercy, with how much gall didst thou besprinkle those sweets unto me, and how good wast thou in so doing? for I was loved and was in secret admitted to the band of fruition; and I pleased myself with being fettered with those wretched chains, in which I was to be scourged with the red hot iron rods of jealousy and suspicion, and fears, and angers, and quarrels. About this time I was much carried away with the shows of the theatre, full of the representations of my miseries, and affording fuel to my fire.

CHAPTER II.

IN WHAT MANNER HE WAS AFFECTED BY THE SIGHT OF TRAGEDIES.

1. What is the meaning, that here a man seeks to grieve in beholding doleful and tragical things, which he himself would not be willing to suffer? And yet he is willing to suffer grief in beholding them, and this grief is his pleasure. What is this but a wretched madness? For so much more is a man affected by

these things, by how much less he is free from the like passions. Though when a man suffers such things himself it is called *misery*, when he is grieved at others suffering them, it is styled *pity*. But what kind of *pity* is this in fabulous and theatrical representations? For here the spectator is not encouraged to succour a person in distress, but only invited to grieve, and the more he is made to grieve, the more he applauds the actor of these representations. And if these calamities of men, either of ancient date, or only feigned, are so acted as not to move the spectator to grieve, he goes away discontented, and blaming the performance: but if he is moved to grief, he stays attentive and weeps with satisfaction. Do we then love tears and sorrow? Surely every one rather desires joy. Or it is that whilst no one has a mind to be miserable, yet he is willing to be compassionate; and as compassion cannot be without some grief, therefore grief for this cause alone is loved? And this proceeds from that vein of friendship.

2. But whither does this go? whither does it run? why does it fall into the torrent of boiling pitch, the vast whirlpools of filthy lusts? into which it is wilfully changed and turned, degenerating and cast down from its heavenly serenity. Must compassion then be condemned?—by no means. Sorrow then may sometimes be loved. But beware of uncleanness, O my soul, under the tuition of my God, the God of our fathers praised and extolled for

evermore, beware of uncleanness, O my soul For I am not now without compassion; but then in the theatres I rejoiced together with lovers, when they succeeded in their criminal intrigues, though only imaginary in the play; and when they lost one another, I was grieved as it were out of pity; and in both these affections I took delight: now I much rather pity him that rejoices in his crime, than imagine him to undergo a hardship who is deprived of that pernicious pleasure, and has lost that wretched felicity.

3. This certainly is the truer compassion, but the heart is not delighted in it. For though he is to be commended for his charitable disposition who grieves at another's misery, yet he had rather there should be no such subject for his grief if he be compassionate indeed For unless you suppose well-wishing can be ill-wishing, (which indeed cannot be) you cannot suppose that he who truly and sincerely compassionates another is desirous to have him miserable that he may have compassion for him. Some grief then is to be approved, none to be loved. Hence thou, O Lord God, who lovest souls, art far more pure and more incorruptible in thy mercy than we, because no grief can wound thee. And who besides thee can attain to this? But I then, poor wretch, loved to grieve, and sought for something to grieve at; when in another man's disaster, and that false, and only personated upon the stage, that action of the player delighted me more,

and more strongly allured me, which drew tears from me. But what wonder, seeing then I was an unhappy sheep strayed from thy flock, and impatient of thy discipline, covered all over with a nasty scab? And hence was my love of sorrow not such as might sink deep into my soul, (for I had no mind to suffer such things, as I was pleased to see) but such as proceeding from things heard and feigned might, as it were, only raise the skin, whence nevertheless, as from the scratching of envenomed nails, followed an inflamed humour, and an imposthumation, and filthy corruption. Such a life as this of mine could it be called life, O my God?

CHAPTER III

HIS CONCUPISCENCE IN THE CHURCH THE AMBITION OF HIS STUDIES, AND HIS CONVERSATION AMONGST THE JEERING AND ABUSIVE WITS.

1. And yet thy mercy, ever faithful to me, was all this while hovering over my head, though at a distance. Into what iniquities in the mean time did I run out? And I pursued a sacrilegious curiosity, which brought me, having forsaken thee, to the treacherous depths below, and the deceitful service of devils, to whom I sacrificed my wicked actions; and in all these things I was scourged by thee. I also dared in the celebration of thy solemnities, within the walls of thy church to give way to concupiscence, and to drive on even there the

trade of procuring the fruits of death, for which thou didst inflict on me grievous punishments, but nothing comparable to my crime, O thou my exceeding great mercy, my God, my refuge from the terrible wicked ones, amongst whom I wandered about with an outstretched neck, a run-away from thee, loving my own ways and not thine, in love with a fugitive liberty.

2. Those studies also, which were called honourable, led me away, having an eye upon the litigious courts of justice, that I might excel in them, and become so much the more famous, by how much the more I could deceive men by my eloquence. So great is the blindness of men, that they even glory in their blindness. And by this time I was became a head scholar in the school of rhetoric, and I was pleased with pride, and swelled with self-conceit; though much more modest, O Lord, thou knowest it, and far remote from the ways of those whom they call *eversores*, [the abusive wits of the School] for this cruel and diabolical name is, as it were, the badge of their urbanity. Amongst these I lived with a shameless bashfulness, because I was not like them; with these I conversed, and was delighted sometimes with their friendship, but always abhorred their doings; I mean their *eversions*, as they call them, by which they imprudently fell upon bashful strangers, and gave them uneasiness, making their game of them without cause, only to gratify a malicious mirth

Nothing sure can more resemble the actions of the devils than this way of acting. It is with justice they are then called *eversores*, being themselves first *everted* and perverted by those deceitful spirits, who are secretly deriding and seducing them, in this very thing of their delighting to deride and deceive others.

CHAPTER IV.

IN THE NINETEENTH YEAR OF HIS AGE, UPON THE READING OF CICERO'S HORTENSIUS, HE IS INFLAMED WITH THE LOVE OF WISDOM.

1. Amongst these I, then a youth, was learning the books of eloquence, in which I desired to be eminent, out of a faulty ambitious motive which looked no farther than the pleasures of human vanity. And now by the usual course of learning I was come to a certain book of one *Cicero*, whose tongue almost all admire, not so his breast. This book contains his exhortation to philosophy, and is called *Hortensius*. Now the reading of this book changed my disposition, and turned my address to thee, O Lord, and quite altered my inclinations and desires. All my vain hopes immediately appeared contemptible; and I longed after the immortality of wisdom with an incredible ardour of heart. And I had now begun to arise that I might return to thee For it was not now to sharpen the tongue (which I seemed to be purchasing at my mother's charges, I being now nineteen years old,

and my father being dead two years before) it was not, I say, to sharpen the tongue that I referred the reading of that book; nor was it the fine language that there affected me, but the things that were said.

2. How was I all on fire, O my God, how was I all on fire with a desire to fly up from these earthly things to thee, and I did not know what thou wert doing with me? For with thee is *Wisdom;* and the love of wisdom by a *Greek* name is called *Philosophy*, with the desire of which these writings inflamed me. Some there are that *seduce by Philosophy*, paliating and colouring over their errors with this great, pleasing, and honourable name; and almost all who in those or former times were such, are in that book noted and set down and therein is manifested that wholesome admonition of thy spirit, by thy good and pious servant. *Col. 2. Beware lest any one deceive you through Philosophy and vain seductions after the tradition of men, after the elements of this world, and not after Christ. For in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.*

3. And I at that time (for thou knowest the light of my heart, that as yet I knew nothing of these words of the Apostle) was for this one reason so particularly pleased with that exhortation of *Cicero*, that it strongly excited and enkindled and enflamed me, not after this or that sect, but to love, seek and pursue, and lay hold on and embrace wisdom itself, whatever it was. And in this so great ardour one thing

only displeased me, that I found not there the name of Christ. For this name according to thy mercy, O Lord, this name of my Saviour thy son, my tender heart had piously imbibed with my mother's milk, and deeply retained. And whatsoever wanted this name, how learned soever or polite or instructive it might be, did not perfectly take with me.

CHAPTER V

HE TAKES THE SCRIPTURES IN HAND, AND IS OFFENDED WITH THE LOWNESS OF THE STYLE.

THEREFORE I proposed to turn my mind to the holy Scriptures, to see what they were. And behold I met with a thing not understood by the proud, nor laid open to children; but low in its appearance, high in its sense, and veiled with mysteries; nor was I such as could enter into, or bend down my neck to its humble pace. For I had not those thoughts then, which I express now, when I first looked upon that sacred book; but to me it then seemed unworthy to be compared to *Tully's* writings. For the swelling of my pride could not bear its humility; and the weakness of my sight did not penetrate into the inside thereof. Yet it was indeed such as would have grown up with little ones, but I disdained to be a little one, and being puffed up with pride took myself to be a great one.

CHAPTER VI

HE FALLS INTO THE SOCIETY AND ERRORS OF THE MANICHÆANS.

THEREFORE I fell amongst men proudly doating, exceedingly carnal, and great talkers, [the *Manichæans*] in whose mouths were the snares of Satan and a bird-lime made up of a mixture of the syllables of thy name, and of that of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, and of the *Paraclete the Holy Ghost* the Comforter. All these names were ever in their mouths, but as to the sound only and the noise of the tongue, their heart being void of all that is true. And they said to me; *The truth, the truth;* and many there were that repeated this to me, and *the truth* was no where amongst them; but they spoke false things, not only of thee, who art *the truth* indeed, but also of these elements of this world, thy creatures, concerning which the philosophers have spoken true things, whom nevertheless I ought to pass by for the love of thee, O my father, sovereignly good, the beauty of all beauties. O truth! O truth! how entirely even then did the very centre of my soul sigh after thee? when they were often repeating thy name to me many ways, not by word of mouth only, but also in many and large volumes. And those were the dishes in which they served up to me, who was hungry after thee, instead of thee, the sun and moon, thy beautiful works indeed, but thy works only,

not thyself, nor they thy chief and first productions; for thy spiritual works are before those corporal ones, though glorious and celestial.

2. But it was not after these, nor those, but after thyself, O truth, *in whom there is no change nor shadow of a moment*, that I was hungry and thirsty; and they presented me still in those dishes with glittering phantoms (a corporeal divinity) less worthy of thy love than this sun which is true to these eyes, whereas those others were mere impositions upon a deluded mind. And yet taking them to be thee, I fed upon them, though with no great appetite, for I had there no relish of thee as thou art in thyself; for these empty fictions were nothing of thee; neither was I filled by them, but rather became more empty. Eating in a dream seems like to eating when awake; but the person that is asleep is not nourished by it, for 'tis only a dream. But those fictions had no resemblance at all of thee, as thou hast now declared thyself to me; for they were only corporeal phantoms, false bodies, better than which are these true bodies, whether heavenly or earthly, which we discern with the fleshy sight. The sight of these is common to us with beasts and birds; and being thus seen they are more certain than when they are only represented to our imagination: and again, we have a more certain imagination of them, than when from them we represent to ourselves others more great and infinite, which indeed have no being at all; and such were those

empty things with which I then was fed and was not fed.

3. But thou, O my love, for whom I faint away, that I may become strong, art neither those bodies which we see, though of Heaven, nor yet those which we see not there; for thou hast made them all; nor dost thou count them amongst the chief of thy works. How remote then art thou from those imaginations of mine, those phantoms of bodies, which have no being; more certain than which are the representations of those bodies that are real, and the bodies themselves more certain than their representations, and yet thou art not these bodies. Neither art thou the soul, which is the life of bodies. And better and more certain is the life of bodies than the bodies. But thou art the life of souls, the life of lives, living of thyself, and thou art never changed. O life of my soul, where wast thou then and at how great a distance from me? And I was in a far country from thee, not allowed even the husks of swine, which I fed with husks. For how much better were the fables of the grammarians and poets, than those cheats? For verses and poems and *Medea* flying, are certainly more to the purpose than the five elements (fictions of the *Manichæans*) diversely, coloured up to suit the five caverns of darkness, which have no being at all, and are pernicious to them that believe them. For verses and poems I may employ on good subjects: and as for *Medea's* flying, I neither sung it to be

believed, nor believed it when I heard it sung; but those other things I believed.

4. Alas! alas! by what steps was I led down into the depths of hell? For labouring and restless in quest of truth, whilst I sought thee, O my God, (for to thee I now confess, who hadst pity on me even when as yet I did not confess) whilst I sought thee, not according to the understanding of the mind, in which thou wast pleased that I should excel beasts, but according to the sense of the flesh, whereas thou wast more interior than what was the most intimate in me, and higher than what was highest in me; I light upon that impudent woman, void of wisdom, the riddle of *Solomon*, Prov. 9. *Sitting upon a stool at the door, and saying, come eat willingly the bread that is hidden, and drink of the sweet stolen water.* And she led me astray, because she found me dwelling abroad in the eye of my flesh, and ruminating within me upon such things only as I had taken in by that avenue.

CHAPTER VII.

THE QUESTIONS THAT STAGGERED HIM, AND THE SOLUTION OF THEM.

1. For I knew not that which truly is, and was easily moved to assent to those foolish deceivers, wittily, as they thought, putting such questions as these to me: *whence came evil?* And whether God were included in a bodily shape; and had hair and nails? And

whether they were to be accounted just men who had many wives at once, and who killed men, and offered up living creatures in sacrifice? with which things, ignorant as I was, I was much disturbed, and going away from truth, thought I was going towards it, for I did not then know that *evil* is nothing but the privation of good, and that what is nothing good is indeed nothing at all. For how should I discern this, whose sight as to the eyes, could only reach to a body, and as to the mind, to a phantom?

2. Again, I did not know that God was a spirit, without length and breadth of limbs, whose being was not any corporeal bulk or bigness, for all such bigness is less in a part than in the whole; and, though you suppose it infinite, is still less in some portion of it included within a certain space, than its infinitude, and is not all of it every where as a spirit, as God is. And what there was in us, according to which we were like to God; and how we were rightly said in the scriptures to be made after the image of God, I was altogether ignorant. And I did not know true interior justice, which judgeth not by custom, but by the most righteous law of an omnipotent God; according to which were fashioned the manners of countries and times, suitably to those countries and times; whereas itself is still the same in all places and in all times; and thus were *Abraham*, and *Isaac*, and *Jacob* just, and *Moses* and *David* and all they that have been praised

by the mouth of God: however silly men have deemed them ungodly, who judge according to man's day, and measure by the short span of their own custom, all the manners of mankind. As if one in an armory not knowing for what part each piece was designed, would be for covering his head with greaves, and his feet with an helmet, and then complain that they did not fit; or as if when upon some day traffic is forbidden in the afternoon, a person should murmur that he is not then allowed to sell what he might in the morning; or seeing in any house some servant taking a thing in hand, which perhaps another servant is not suffered to meddle with; or something done behind the stable, which is not permitted in the dining room; should take it ill, that in one dwelling, and the same family, the same thing should not be allowed to every one in every place.

3. Even such are they, who are angry when they hear, that some things in that age were lawful to just men, which are not now allowed; and that God commanded one thing to them; another thing to us, for reasons suitable to the times, whilst both the one and the other served the same justice; whereas they see, that in one and the same man, and on one day, and in one family, several things suit to the several members, and that what is allowed in one hour is not allowed in another; and that what is permitted, or even commanded to be done in one place, is justly forbidden and punished if done in another Is justice then itself various and

changeable? no; but the times, over which it presides, run not constant and even; for they are (fleeting) times. And men, whose life is short upon earth, being unable by their weak sense to connect and reconcile the causes of past ages, and of sovereign nations, wherein they have no experience, with those wherewith they are acquainted, though they can well discern in one body, or day, or house, what becomes each part, hour, room or person; are offended in the one case, and well satisfied in the other.

4. These things at that time I knew not, and I took no notice of them: and on every side they beat upon my eyes, and I did not see them. And in the verses that I made I was not to place every foot every where, but in different kinds of verses, in different manner; and in any one verse not the same foot in every place; yet the art itself of poetry was not therefore different, but comprehended at once all these varieties. And I did not see that that *Justice*, which good and holy men obeyed, did far more excellently and sublimely comprehend at once all these things which God commanded, and in itself never varied, though in various times it distributed and commanded what was proper to each time, and not all at one. Hence, blind as I was, I censured those holy patriarchs, not only using things present according as God had commanded, and inspired, but also foreshowing thereby things to come, according as God had revealed.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE LAW OF GOD, BY WHICH CRIMES AGAINST NATURE ARE PROHIBITED, IS ETERNAL AND UNCHANGEABLE.

1. Is it then at any time, or in any place, unjust to love God with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our mind, and to love our neighbour as ourselves? No. And therefore those vicious actions that are against nature, are in all places and at all times to be detested and punished; such as those of the *Sodomites* were, which, if all nations were to commit, they would incur the same criminal guilt by God's law, which made not men to use themselves in that manner. For that society is violated which we ought to have with God, when the nature of which he is the author, is defiled by unnatural lust. But those things that are only crimes against the civil society of men, are, according to the diversity of their several customs and practices, to be avoided; so that a mutual covenant in any city or nation, ratified by custom or law, ought not to be violated at the pleasure of any one, whether native or stranger: for that part is justly deemed shameful and deformed, which does not agree with its whole. But when God at any time commandeth a thing contrary to any such custom or covenant, though it was never there done before, it must now be done; or if intermitted, it must be restored; or if not formerly instituted, it is then to be enacted For

if a king may in the city, over which he reigns, command something, which never any one before him, nor he himself before had commanded, and is obeyed in such cases without any prejudice to civil society; nay, it would be against civil society not to obey him, it being a general agreement of human society to obey their kings; how much more ought we without hesitation to obey God, the king of the whole creation, in whatever he commands? For as amongst the powers of human society, the higher power, in point of obedience, is to be preferred to the lower, so must God before all.

2. And what is said of vicious excesses against nature and their perpetual unlawfulness, must be said also of crimes where there is a desire of hurting others, whether by contumely or injury; and this, either out of *revenge*, as when done by an enemy to his enemy; or for some temporal *interest*, as by a highwayman to a traveller; or to avoid some *evil apprehended*, as when done to one we fear; or through *envy*, as in the case of one that is unfortunate with regard to one that is more happy, or of one that is in prosperity with regard to one who he fears should grow to be his equal, or is grieved that he is so already; or in fine, merely to take *pleasure* in others evils, as when persons are spectators of the gladiators, or delight in deriding and scoffing at others. These are the heads of iniquity which spring from the pride of life, and lust of the

eyes, and lust of the flesh; either from one, or from two of them, or from all three: and thus men live wickedly against the two tables of three and seven commandments, the instrument of ten strings, thy decalogue, O God, most high and most sweet.

3. But what lewd actions can reach thee, who canst not be corrupted or defiled? Or what crimes can touch thee, who canst not be hurt? But thou revengest that which men commit against themselves; for when they also sin against thee, they do wickedly *against their own souls; and iniquity lieth to itself;* either by corrupting or perverting their own nature; which thou hast created and regulated; or by the immoderate use of things allowed; or by lusting in things not allowed after that use, which is against nature: or they are guilty in mind or words of raging against thee and kicking against the goad; or breaking down the pales of human society, they audaciously delight in private combinations or rapines, according to the dictates of their pleasure or passion.

4. And such things are done when thou art forsaken, who are the fountain of life, the *true* creator and ruler of the *Universe;* and by private pride some one thing that is false in some little part thereof is loved before thee. Therefore it must be by an humble piety that we must return to thee, and then thou cleansest us from our evil customs, and showest mercy to them that confess their sins, and hearest the

groans of them that are fettered, and loosest those bands which we have made to ourselves; provided that we now no longer advance against thee the horns of a false liberty. by the covetousness of having more, and so incur the loss of all, by loving more a private good of our own, than thee, the universal good of all.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE SINS OF BEGINNERS, AND THAT WHAT GOD COMMANDS IS ALWAYS TO BE DONE.

1. Amongst these crimes of lewdness and malice, and so many sorts of iniquities, there are also to be considered the sins of *proficients*, which by them that judge right are blamed for falling short of the rule of perfection, and yet are valued for the hopes of future progress as the green blade from which corn may come. And there are some things again that have some resemblance with crimes and yet are no sins, because they neither offend thee, our Lord God, nor are contrary to human society; as when things are procured for the service of life according to the exigence of the time, and others know not whether it may not be out of *covetousness*; or when persons are punished by a lawful authority with a good intention of a charitable correction, and to others it is uncertain whether it be not out of *malice*. Hence many actions, which to men might have appeared blameable, have been approved by thy testi-

mony; and many that have been praised by men are condemned in thy eyes; there being often a great difference between the appearance of the action, and the intention of the actor, together with the exigence of the secret circumstance of the time wherein it is acted.

2. When therefore thou suddenly commandest some unusual and unexpected thing, although it be what thou hast before prohibited, and although thou hidest for the present the cause of thy command, and it be withal against the covenant of some human society; who doubts but that what thou commandest ought to be obeyed; Since that human society only is truly just which serveth thee? But happy are they that know these thy commands. For all those extraordinary things (in the old testament (that have been done by them that served thee, were either to exhibit something requisite for the present, or to foretell something to come.

CHAPTER X

THE OPINION OF THE MANICHÆANS OF PARTICLES OF GOD IMPRISONED IN THE FRUITS OF THE EARTH.

These things I not knowing, derided thy holy servants and Prophets, and in deriding them deserved myself to be derided by thee. Being brought by insensible degrees to such fooleries as to believe, when a fig is gathered, that both it and its mother tree weep with milky tears: which fig notwithstanding, if

some *Manichæan* saint should eat (after it had been plucked by the crime forsooth of another and not his own) his bowels enclosed, and from thence sent out angels, nay, rather particles of the deity, by groaning in prayer and belching; which particles of the sovereign and true God were imprisoned in that fruit, till they were restored to liberty by the teeth and bowels of some elect saint. And wretch as I was I believed more mercy was to be shown to the fruits of the earth than to men for whom they were made: for if any one that was hungry, that was not a *Manichæan*, should have begged for any, I should have looked upon the morsel as condemned to a capital punishment, if it were given to him.

CHAPTER XI

HIS MOTHER'S VISION CONCERNING HIS CONVERSION.

1. *AND thou didst send thy hand from on high*, and hast delivered my soul out of this profound darkness, whilst my mother, one of thy faithful, was weeping for me unto thee, much more than mothers weep for the corporal death of their children. For she looked upon me as dead, by the faith and the spirit which she had from thee, and thou wast pleased graciously to hear her, O Lord Thou didst hear her, and despisedst not her tears, when flowing from her they watered the ground under her eyes, in every place where she prayed, and thou wast pleased to

hear her. For whence but from thee was that dream, with which thou didst comfort her assuring her that I should again live with her, and have the same table in the house with her, which she had begun to be averse from, as detesting the blasphemies of my errors? For she saw herself standing upon a certain rule of wood, and a beautiful young man coming towards her, cheerful and smiling upon her, whereat she was sorrowful and spent with grief, who having asked her the cause of her sorrow and of her daily tears, with intention to instruct her, not to learn of her; and she having answered that she bewailed the loss of me; he bid her be easy, and to look and see that *where she was I was also:* upon which looking she perceived me standing by her upon the same rule. From whence was all this, but from thy ears being open to the cry of her heart?

2. Oh! thou good Almighty! who hast as much care of each one of us, as if thou hadst no one else to take care of; and as much care of all as of each one; whence also was it, that when she related this vision to me, and I was endeavouring to draw it to this sense, that she rather should not despair of being one day what I was, she readily without any hesitation answered, *No, not so, for it was not said to me, where he, there also you; but where you, there he also?* I confess to thee, O Lord, as much as I remember, (and I have often spoke of it) that this thy answer given by my mother when

awake, (no ways put to a stand by that false though plausible interpretation, and so readily discerning the truth, which I before she spoke had not observed) struck me at that time more than her dream, by which that pious woman had her joy, which was to come so long after, foretold her for the comfort of her present uneasiness so long beforehand.

3. For there succeeded yet almost nine years in which I still lay wallowing in that mire of the deep and in the darkness of error, often making efforts to rise, and falling back into a worse state, whilst that chaste, devout, and sober widow (such as thou lovest) more cheerful indeed now in her hopes, yet no way slacker in her sighs and tears, ceased not in all the hours of her prayers to bewail me in thy sight. And her prayers were admitted into thy presence, and yet thou sufferedst me to go on still and to be involved in that darkness.

CHAPTER XII

THE ANSWER OF A HOLY BISHOP CONCERNING HIS CONVERSION.

1. In the mean time thou gavest her also another answer, which I call to my remembrance; for I pass over many things, because I make haste to those which press me more to confess to thee; and many things I have forgot. Thou gavest her therefore yet another answer, by a Priest of thine, a certain Bishop nursed in thy church, and well read in thy

books: whom when she solicited to vouchsafe to confer with me, to confute my errors, to unteach me that which was evil, and teach me that which was good, (an office which he used willingly to perform when he met with persons that were tractable) he desired to be excused; and that very prudently, as I since have understood; alledging that I was as yet indocile, because I was puffed up with the novelty of that heresy, the more because as she had also told him, I had already puzzled many unexperienced persons with certain quibbles. But let him alone, said he, only pray to our Lord for him; he will at length by reading discover what that error is, and how great its impiety.

2. At the same time he told her how he himself when a little one was by his deceived mother given to the *Manichæans*, and had not only read but also copied out almost all their books, and had of himself found out, without any one's disputing with him, or convincing him, how much that sect was to be abhorred, and had therefore forsaken it. When he had told her this and she was not yet satisfied, but persisted still importuning him with many tears, that he would see me and discourse with me: he being now a little disgusted with her importunity, said to her, *go your way, God bless you, for it cannot be that a child of those tears should perish.* Which words, as she hath since many times told me, she received as an oracle from Heaven.

ST. AUGUSTIN'S

CONFESSIONS.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I

FROM THE NINETEENTH TO THE TWENTY-EIGHTH YEAR OF HIS AGE HE CONTINUES ADDICTED TO THE MANICHÆANS.

1. For this space of nine years, from the nineteenth to the twenty-eighth year of my age, we were seduced and did seduce, being deceived and deceiving others in various inordinate desires; openly by what they call the *liberal sciences*, secretly by the false name of religion; proud in the one, superstitious in the other, in both vain. Following the emptiness of popular glory, as far as the applauses of the theatre, and contentions, disputes, and strifes for crowns of hay, and the fooleries of shews, and the intemperance of lusts; and seeking in that false religion to be purged from these uncleannesses, by carrying food to those who are called the *Elect* and the *Saints*, which in the shop of their stomach was to be moulded into angels and gods, by whom we were to be delivered. Such things I followed and practised with my friends, deceived with me and by me.

2. The proud, and such as are not yet savingly cast down and broken by thee, my God, may laugh at me if they please, but I confess to thee my disgraces in thy praise. Suffer me, I beseech thee, and enable me to go through with my present memory all the past rounds of my error, *and sacrifice to thee a victim* of joy. For what am I to myself without thee but a guide to a precipice? Or what am I when it is well with me, but one sucking thy milk, and enjoying thee, the food that perisheth not? or what is any man, since he is but man? but let the strong and the mighty laugh at us; we that are weak and poor will confess to thee.

CHAPTER II

HE TEACHETH RHETORIC; KEEPS A CONCUBINE; REFUSES THE ASSISTANCE OF A MAGICIAN, PROMISING HIM VICTORY IN A PRIZE OF POETRY UPON THE THEATRE

1. In those years I taught in rhetoric, and sold to others the art of overcoming by eloquence, whilst I myself was overcome by inordinate desires. Yet I rather wished, O Lord, thou knowest, to have good scholars, as they are commonly called *good;* and without deceit I taught them deceits; not to use them against the life of the innocent, but sometimes in defence of the guilty. And thou, O God, didst behold from afar off that faith staggering as it were in a slippery place, and send-

ing out some few sparks in the midst of a cloud of smoke, which in that station I exhibited towards those *that were in love with vanity, and sought after lying*, Psalm 4, being no better myself.

2. In those years I had conversation with one, not joined to me by lawful marriage, but chosen by the wandering heat of imprudent passion. Yet I had but one, and kept faithful to her: that I might experience by myself the distance there is between the right way of the matrimonial contract made for the sake of issue, and the covenant of a lewd love, where children are born undesired, though when once born they oblige us to love them.

3. I remember also that when I had undertaken to try upon the theatre for a prize in poetry, a certain soothsayer sent to me to know what reward I would give him, that by his help I might overcome; and that I, detesting and abominating such filthy mysteries, answered, that if the crown that was to be obtained were even of immortal gold, I would not permit a fly to be sacrificed to give me the victory. For his purpose was to sacrifice some living creature, and by those honours he pretended to invite some demons to my assistance. But this evil I did not reject for the chaste love of thee, O God of my heart; for I did not know how to love thee, since I could think of nothing but corporeal brightnesses; which I mistook for thee. And does not a soul that gives way to such fictions go a whor-

ing from thee, *and trust in false things, and feed the winds!* But I would not forsooth that any sacrifice should be offered to the devils for me, whilst I sacrificed myself to them by my superstition. And what is it else to feed the winds, but to feed those wicked spirits, that is, by error to become their sport and their laughing-stock?

CHAPTER III.

HE IS ADDICTED TO JUDICIAL ASTROLOGY, FROM WHICH A LEARNED PHYSICIAN STRIVES TO DISSUADE HIM

1. THEREFORE I made no scruple of consulting those planet-gazers, whom they call astrologers, as if they made no sacrifice, nor directed any prayers to any spirit in their divinations, which yet christian and true piety rejects and condemns. For it is good to confess to thee, O Lord, and to say, *have mercy on me, heal my soul, for I have sinned against thee*, Psalm 40. And then not to abuse thy indulgence by taking liberty to sin again; but to remember that saying of our Lord, *St. John 5. v. 14. Behold thou art made whole, sin now no more, lest something worse befall thee.* But these men seek to destroy those wholesome precepts, when they say, from Heaven is the inevitable cause of thy sin; and *Venus* has done this, or *Saturn*, or *Mars:* that man, forsooth, who is but flesh and blood, and proud rottenness might be without faith, and the blame might be cast upon the Creator and

Ruler of the Heavens and the stars. And who is this but our God, the sweetness and origin of justice, *who renderest to every one according to his works*, Matt. 16, and *despisest not a contrite and humble heart*, Psalm 50.

2. There was at that time an ingenious man, most skilful in the art of physic, and very famous in that profession; who as *Proconsul* had with his own hand set that *agonistical crown* on my sick head, but not as my physician. For thou alone canst cure such diseases; *who resistest the proud, and givest grace to the humble*, St. James 4. 1. St. Peter 5. Yet even by this old man thou wast not wanting to offer me thy helping hand, and didst not forbear to administer physic to my soul. For after that I was become familiar with him, and was an assiduous and attentive hearer of his discourses, (which, without ornament of words, were agreeable and grave for the vivacity of his sentences) he understood by my talk that I was addicted to the books of the *Casters of Nativities;* and he kindly and fatherly advised me to throw them away, and not idly to bestow upon that empty study my care and pains necessary for more useful things; telling me that himself in his younger days had applied himself to that study, so far as to intend to make a profession of it for his livelihood; and if he could understand *Hippocrates*, he certainly was not incapable of understanding also that kind of learning; yet that he had quitted it, to betake himself to the study of physic, for

no other reason but that he had plainly discovered the falsity of that pretended science, and was unwilling to owe his maintenance to tricks and deceit. But you, said he, have the profession of rhetoric, whereby to subsist, and follow this fallacious study, not out of necessity, but free choice; so that you ought so much the sooner to give credit to me, who have laboured to attain perfection in it, with a design to get my living by it.

3. Of whom when I had demanded how then it came to pass that so many things were told true in that profession? He answered, as he could (being no christian) that this was to be attributed to the power of *chance*, every where diffused through the whole body of nature. For if by dipping at hap-hazard into the pages of a poet, treating and intending quite another thing, the consulter often lights upon a verse strangely consonant to the business in hand; he said it was not to be admired, if out of the soul of man, not knowing what it was doing (from some superior instinct) by chance, not by art, something should be delivered agreeable to the condition and actions of the enquirer. And this thou procuredst for me from that man, or through him, and imprintedst in my memory, what I should afterwards by myself farther enquire into. Yet at that time, neither he, nor my dearest *Nebridius*, a very good young man, and very prudent, laughing at all this sort of divination could persuade me to lay aside these things

for I was more moved by the authority of those writers, and could as yet discover no certain demonstrations, such as I was in quest of, whereby it might without any ambiguity appear to me, that the things which were truly foretold by these men when consulted, were delivered by hap-hazard, and not by any art or knowledge which they had from considering the stars.

CHAPTER IV

HIS GREAT GRIEF AT THE DEATH OF A DEAR FRIEND WHOM HE HAD ENGAGED IN HIS ERRORS, BUT WHO WAS BAPTIZED BEFORE HIS DEATH.

1. In those years, when I first began to teach in the town where I was first born (*Tagaste*) I had a friend, whom the society of the same studies had made exceedingly dear to me; one of the same age, and equally flourishing in the bloom of his youth. We had grown up together from children, and went to school together, and played together: though at that time he was not so great a friend as afterwards; nor indeed was he so afterwards, according to the rule of true friendship; for that friendship only is true, by which such as adhere to thee are united together by thee, by *Charity shed abroad in our hearts, by the Holy Ghost who is given unto us*, Rom. 5. 5. But yet that amity was exceedingly sweet, formed by the eager pursuit of the like studies. For I had also perverted him from the true faith, of which he had

but an imperfect knowledge, to those superstitious and pernicious fables, for which my mother was bewailing me. And in his mind he was going astray with me, nor could my soul be any where easy without him. And lo thou pursuing close upon the backs of us thy fugitives, at once both the God of revenge and the fountain of mercy, who by wonderful ways convertest us to thee, didst take that man out of this life when he had scarce completed one year in that friendship sweet to me beyond all the sweets of that my life.

2. Where is the man that can enumerate thy praises, which he hath experienced in himself alone? What didst thou do at that time, O my God; and how unsearchable was the abyss of thy judgments? For he being ill of a burning fever, lay a long time without sense in a mortal sweat; so that his recovery being despaired of he was baptized in that condition: whilst I did not care what they did; presuming that his soul would rather retain what he had received from me, than what was done to his body without his knowledge. But it proved far otherwise, for he was relieved, and recovered. And presently, as soon as I could speak with him (which was as soon as he could speak, for I departed not from him, and our intimacy was too great to prohibit me) I offered to make a jest to him, expecting that he would do the same, of the baptism he had received, when he was quite out of his senses, though by this time he had been acquainted that he had re-

ceived it. But he had an horror of me as of an enemy, and with a wonderful and unexpected liberty admonished me, that if I meant to continue a friend, I should speak no more to him in that manner. At which I, being astonished and troubled, thought it best nevertheless to defer the giving scope to the motions of my breast, till he had recovered strength, and was in a more proper condition for me to deal with him as I had a mind. But he, happily snatched out of the hands of my madness, that with thee he might be reserved for my comfort, within a few days, when I was absent, was again seized by the fever, and died.

3. With what grief was my heart then darkened, and how did every thing that I saw look like death? My own country became a punishment to me, and my father's house a wonderful misery, and all places or things in which I had communicated with him, were turned into a bitter torment to me, being now without him. My eyes every where wanted him, and he was no where presented to me; and I hated all things, because they had him not, nor could they now tell me behold he will come, as before in his life-time when he was absent. And I was become a great rack to myself: and I asked my soul, *why she was sad, and why she disturbed me* so? Psalm 42. And she knew not what to answer me. And if I said to her, *hope in God*, she had good reason not to obey me, for the dear man she had lost was a far better and truer thing than the phantom of a

God in which I bid her hope. Weeping was then the only thing that was sweet to me, and had succeeded my friend in the dearest place of my affection

CHAPTER V.

WHY MOURNING IS SO PLEASANT TO THE AFFLICTED.

And now, O Lord, those things are long since past, and my wound has been healed by time. May I learn from thee, who art the truth, and apply the ear of my heart to thy mouth that thou mayest tell me, why weeping is pleasant to them that are in misery. Hast thou, though thou art present every where, cast away our misery at a distance from thee? And thou remainest in thyself, whilst we are rolled about in various experiments: and yet, if we were not to bemoan ourselves in thy ears, no spark of hope would remain. From whence then is a sweet fruit gathered, from the bitterness of life, in groaning, and weeping, and sighing, and bemoaning ourselves? Is this sweetness from the hope that thy ears are there to hear us? This would be right in the case of prayers, where there is a desire of obtaining. But is it so in the grief for a thing lost, and in the mourning with which I was ther overwhelmed? For I had no hopes of his returning to life, neither did I petition for this by my tears, but I only grieved and lamented, because I was miserable and had lost my joy. Or is weeping indeed in itself a bitter thing, and yet in these

cases gives us a pleasure, by reason of the loathing we have for the things we delighted in before, which we now abhor?

CHAPTER VI.

THE HORROR HE HAD FOR DEATH, WHICH HAD SNATCHED AWAY HIS FRIEND.

1. But why do I speak of these things? for 'tis not now time to ask questions, but to confess to thee. I was miserable, and every soul is miserable, that is tied down by love to perishable things, and she is torn in pieces when she is separated from them, and then she feels that misery, by which she was also miserable before she lost them. It was so with me at that time, and I wept most bitterly, and in that bitterness I placed my repose. Thus was I miserable, and yet I loved that life, miserable as it was, more dearly than my friend; for though I would fain have changed it, yet I was unwilling to lose it any more than him; and I know not whether I should have been willing to lose it even for him: as they tell of *Orestes* and *Pylades*, if it be not a fable, that they strove to die for each other, or at least together; because it was to them worse than death not to live together. But for my part, there was, I know not what, quite contrary dispositions at that time in me; for I loathed life exceedingly, and yet feared to die. I believe the more I loved him, the more I hated and feared death as a most cruel enemy, that had taken him

away from me, and thought that she would suddenly devour all other men, because she had that power over him. Such, I remember, was my disposition at that time.

2. Behold my heart, O my God, behold and see within me, that I remember this, O thou my hope, that cleansest me from the impurity of such affections, directing my eyes to thee, and plucking my feet out of the snare. For I wondered that the rest of mortals could live, because he was dead whom I had loved, as if he were never to die; and I much more wondered, that I myself, who was *another he*, could live when *he* was gone. Well did one say of his friend *animæ dimidium meæ*,* that he was *one half of his soul;* for I thought that my soul and his was but one soul in two bodies: and therefore I loathed life, because I was unwilling to live by *halves;* and therefore perhaps I am afraid to die, lest *whole he* should perish whom I had loved so much.†

CHAPTER VII

UNABLE TO BEAR THE SIGHT OF THE PLACE WHERE THEY HAD LIVED TOGETHER, HE LEAVES TAGASTE, AND GOES TO CARTHAGE.

1. O MADNESS, that knows not how to love men like men! O foolish man that I then was,

* Horace speaking of Virgil.

† St Augustin in his Retractions, l. 2. c. 6, censures this expression as light and unworthy the gravity of a confession made to God.

so immoderately to take to heart human accidents! therefore I was restless, and sighed, and wept, and was distracted, and bereft both of ease and counsel. For I carried about with me a soul all wounded and bleeding, impatient to be any longer carried by me, and where to lay it down to rest I did not find. It could take no delight in pleasant groves, nor in plays and music, nor in fragrant odours, nor in elegant banquets, nor in the pleasures of the chamber and the bed, nor in fine books and poems. All things looked ghastly, even the very light, and whatever was not he, was loathsome and distasteful to me except sighs and tears, for in these alone I found some small ease.

2. But when my soul was taken off from thence, I was weighed down by the grievous burthen of my misery, which by thee, O Lord, was to be lightened and cured. I knew it, but had neither will nor ability to redress my misery by applying to thee: the less because thou wast not to me any thing solid or stable, when I essayed to think of thee. For it was not thou but a vain phantom and my own error that was my God. And if I endeavoured to place my soul there that it might rest, it came tumbling down for want of a stay through the empty air, and fell back upon me, and I still remained to myself an unhappy place, where I could neither be, nor yet get away. For whither could my heart fly from my heart? whither could I fly from myself? and

where would not myself follow me? however, I fled from my own Country, for my eyes missed him less where they were not used to see him; and from *Tagaste* I came to *Carthage*.

CHAPTER VIII.

HIS GRIEF IS ALLAYED BY TIME AND BY NEW FRIENDSHIPS.

1. TIMES are not idle, but as they roll away by these our senses they produce wonderful effects in the soul. Behold they came and passed day after day, and in coming and passing they imprinted in me other images, and other remembrances, and by degrees renewed in me my former kinds of delights, to which that grief of mine gave place. But there succeeded to it, not indeed other sorrows, yet the causes of other sorrows. For whence had late great grief so easily and so deeply wounded me, but because I had poured out my soul upon the sand, by loving one that was to die, as if he had never been to die: and what now most of all repaired and diverted me was the comforts of other friends, with whom I loved something else instead of thee. And this was that grand fable and long-spun lye (of *Manichæism*) which through the ears corrupted our itching minds by its adulterous rubbings: nor did this fable die to me, when any of my friends died

2. There were other things also in my friends which more affected my mind, as to

chat together, and to laugh together, and to do mutual friendly services to one another; to read pleasant books together; to jest together, and then to be grave together; to dissent from one another sometimes without ill will, as a man would do from himself, and by this disagreeing in some few things to season, as it were, and better relish our agreeing in many others; to teach one another something, or to learn something from one another; to wish for one another when absent with uneasiness, and to receive one another with joy when returned home: by these and such like signs proceeding from the heart of such as mutually love one another, through the countenance, through the tongue, through the eyes, and through a thousand agreeable motions, as it were by so much fuel, to melt down souls, and of many to make them one

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CHAPTER IX

ALL HUMAN FRIENDSHIP DEFECTIVE IN COMPARISON WITH DIVINE CHARITY.

This it is that is loved in a friend, and so loved that a man's conscience accuses itself, if he loves not him that loves him again, or loves not that man again that loves him first; seeking nothing from him in the carnal way, but only demonstrations of his benevolence. Hence is that mourning when a friend dies, and that darkness of sorrow, and a heart lamenting at its sweetness being turned to bitterness, and

from the loss of the life of the dead even the death of the living. Ah! blessed is he that loveth thee, O Lord, and his friend in thee, and his enemy for thee: for he alone never loseth any thing that is dear, to whom all are dear only in him whom he never loseth: and who is this but our God, the God that made Heaven and Earth, and filleth Heaven and Earth, and who made them by filling them? no one loseth thee, but he that leaveth thee. And whither doth he go that leaveth thee, or whither doth he fly but from thee pleased to the offended? For where can he be where he does not find thy law in his punishment? and thy law is truth, and truth is thyself.

CHAPTER X

ALL THINGS LOVED, BESIDES GOD, PASS AWAY, AND LEAVE THE LOVER TO EMBRACE SORROWS.

1. O GOD *of Powers, convert us to thee, and show us thy countenance, and we shall be saved,* Psalm 79. For which way soever the soul of man turneth itself, it lights upon sorrow, excepting only when it turns to thee: although it fastens upon beautiful things abroad from thee, and from itself; which yet could have no being, if they were not from thee. All these have their rising and their setting; and in their rising they begin (as it were) to be, and they grow up towards their perfection; which when they have attained, they fade away and they perish, for all things fade away, and all die.

So that when they rise and tend towards their being, the more speedily they advance *to be*, the more haste they make *not to be*. Such is their condition; and more than this thou hast not given them, because they are but parts of things, which subsist not altogether, but by one going off and another coming on, make up by this succession the whole of which they are the parts. As it is with regard to our speech, which is in like manner compounded of a succession of significant sounds; for the whole speech cannot be perfected, unless each word give way when it hath sounded its part, and make room for another to succeed it.

3. May my soul from these things take occasion to praise thee, O God, the Creator of all things; but suffer her not to cleave to them by the glue of love through the senses of the body. For they go on the way they were going towards their *not being*, and leave the soul wounded with pestilent desires because she would feign have them still be, and would feign take her rest in the things she loves: and there is no room for her to rest in them; for they never stand still, but run away, and who can follow them with the sense of the flesh when they are gone, or hold them fast while they are at hand? for the sense of the flesh is slow, because it is but the sense of the flesh, and such is the condition of it. It is sufficient for the ends for which it was made; but it is not able to detain and hold fast things that never stand still, but are always running from their appoint-

ed beginning to their appointed end. For in thy word, by which they were created, they all bear their appointed race, *from hence you shal set out, and hitherto you shall run.*

CHAPTER XI.

HE ENCOURAGES HIS SOUL TO RUN TO GOD, THE ONLY PERFECT AND UNCHANGEALE GOOD.

1. Be not vain, O my soul, so as to let the ear of thy heart be deafened with the noise of thy vanity. Hearken thou also to this *word* which calls upon thee to return, and that with it is the place of undisturbed rest, where love is never forsaken, if it forsake not. Behold those things all pass away that others may succeed, and that this lower world may thus be completed in all its parts. But do I any where depart, saith the *word* of God? there then fix thy dwelling, O my soul, there recommend all that thou hast from thence, now at least after having been wearied out with delusions. Recommend over to truth all that thou hast from truth, and thou shalt lose nothing; and what has been corrupted in thee shall flourish again, and all thy diseases shall be healed, and these inconstant perishable things of thine shall be reformed, and renewed, and fixed with thee; nor shall they sway thee down whither they naturally tend, but shall stand with thee, and remain with thee, with that God who ever stands and ever remains: (or to the ever standing and remaining God.)

2. Why dost thou suffer thyself to be perverted, and to follow thy flesh? let it now be converted and follow thee. Whatever thou perceivest by it is but in *part*, and thou knowest not the *whole*, of which these are *parts*, and yet it delighteth thee. But if the sense of thy flesh were capable to comprehend the *whole*, and had not itself also been justly confined for thy punishment to the prospect only of some small part; thou wouldst have wished for a speedy passing away of all that which for the present exists, that thou mightest receive more pleasure from the succession of all the rest. For by this same sense of the flesh thou hearest all that which we speak, and yet wouldst not have any one syllable to stand still, but to fly away, that others may succeed, and so thou mayest hear the whole: so it always is with things that make up one whole; yet so that those things are never altogether of which that whole is made. All together would delight more than each apart, if they could be perceived altogether. But far better than all these is he that made all, and he is our God: and he never passeth away, because he has nothing to succeed in his place. If then bodies (the objects of thy corporeal senses) please thee, take occasion from them to praise God, and turn thy love from them upon him that made them, lest in these things that please thee, thou displease him.

CHAPTER XII.

THAT SOULS ARE TO BE LOVED IN GOD, AND TO BE CARRIED WITH US TO GOD.

1. Or if souls please thee, let them be loved in God, because they also are subject to change, and being fixed in him stand steady; otherwise they would go and pass away. In him then let them be loved, and take along with thee to him as many of them as thou canst, and say to them, *this is he whom we must love;* 'tis he that made all these things, and he is not far off: for he did not make them, and then go away from them; but they are *from him* and *in him.* Behold where he is, even where truth is relished, he is in the most inward part of the heart; but the heart has strayed away from him. *Sinners return to your heart*, Isaiah 46, and be united to him that made you. Stand with him, and you will stand indeed; rest in him, and you will be at rest. Whither are you going into craggy ways? Whither are you going? The good that you love is from him, but what is it in comparison with him? It is good and sweet; but it will justly be made bitter, because it is unjustly loved, when for it he is forsaken who made it.

2. To what purpose is it for you to be still treading those hard and toilsome paths? rest is not there where you seek it. Seek what you are seeking, but it is not to be found where you are seeking it. You seek for a happy life

in the region of death: it is not there. For how should there be *happy life* where there is no *life?* And our life itself came down hither, and underwent our death, and so slew death out of the abundance of his life: and he thundered calling out unto us, that we should return hence to him, to that secret place, from whence he at first came forth to us into the Virgin's womb (where he espoused to himself this human creature our mortal flesh, to the end that it might not be ever mortal) and thence *like a bridegroom going forth of his bedchamber, he rejoiced as a giant to run his course,* Psalm 18, for he was not slow-paced, but he ran all the way, calling upon us by his words, by his deeds, by his death, by his life, by his descending, by his ascending, calling out unto us to return to him. And he withdrew himself from our eyes, that we might return into our heart, and might find him there.

3. He is gone away, and behold he is here. He would not stay along with us, and yet he hath not left us. For he has gone thither from whence he never departed because the world was made by him, and he was in this world; and he came into this world to save sinners, to whom my soul now confesseth, that he may heal her, because she has sinned against him. *O ye sons of men how long* will you be *so heavy hearted?* Psalm 4. Is it possible, that after life has come down to you, you will not ascend and live? But whither did you then ascend when you set up yourselves on high, and turn-

ed your face against Heaven? you must descend (by humility) if you would ascend, and ascend to God. For you fell by ascending (by pride) against him. Tell these things to the souls thou lovest, that they may weep in this vale of tears, and so carry them with thee to God; for 'tis from this spirit thou tellest them these things, if thou speakest inflamed with the fire of charity.

CHAPTER XIII

HE WRITES HIS BOOKS DE PULCHRO AND APTO

THESE things I did not then know; and I was in love with these lower beauties, and was going into the deep; and I used to be saying to my friends, *do we love any thing but what is fair and beautiful?* what then is that which is fair, and what is this beauty? What is it that attracts us, and attaches us to the things we love? For if there were not in them a gracefulness and beauty, they would not attract us. And I observed and perceived, that in the bodies themselves their whole composition was one thing, from which they were called *fair and beautiful;* and another thing that decency which is found in things, by which they are *fit* or aptly suited to one another, as a part of the body is to the whole, or a shoe to the foot, and the like. And these speculations of mine, from the multiplicity of my thoughts, sprung up, so as to compose upon this occasion certain books, *De Pulchro and Apto*, of *fair* and *fit;* I think

two or three; O God, thou knowest, for I have forgot, and I have them not at present, but they are strayed from me I know not whither.

CHAPTER XIV

HE DICTATES THESE BOOKS TO HIERIUS THE ROMAN ORATOR, AND WHY.

1. But what was it that moved me, O Lord my God, to address these books to *Hierius* the Orator of *Rome*, whom I had never seen; but I loved the man for the fame of his learning, which was much renowned; and I had heard of some of his sayings, and I was taken with them; but I was pleased the more, because others were pleased with them; and they cried him up, admiring, that being a *Syrian* by birth, and trained up first in the *Grecian* eloquence, he had become so great a master also in the *Latin*, and was most knowing in all things appertaining to the study of wisdom. A man is praised, and though absent is loved. Does then this love enter into the heart of the hearer from the mouth of the praiser? No, certainly: but from one lover, another is enkindled with love. For hence is love conceived for a person that is praised, when he that praiseth him is supposed to commend him with an undissembling heart, that is, when one that loves him commends him. For in this manner did I love men at that time, according to the judgment of men, not according to thy judgment, O my God, which deceives no man. But why

then was I not affected with his praise, as with that of some famous charioteer, or huntsman, that is cried up by the people, but with a far different and more serious affection, and so as I myself also would have been glad to have been praised? For I should not have been willing to be praised or loved, as stage players are, (though I also at that time praised them and loved them) but should rather have chosen to be unknown, than to be known in that manner, and even to be hated, rather than to be loved in such a manner. Where are distributed the weights of such various and different loves in the same soul? How is it that I love that in another man which same thing if I did not hate, I would not detest in myself, and reject it from me, whereas we are both equally men! For we may not say the same of a stage-player, who is partaker of the same nature with us, as of a good horse, who is loved by a man, who yet would not, if he could, be the thing he loves. Do I then love in a man, what I hate to be, though I am a man? Man himself is a great deep, of whose very hairs, O Lord, thou keepest an account, and not one is wanting in thee; and yet his hairs are more easily numbered than his affections and the motions of his heart.

2. But this Orator was of the number of those whom I loved in such manner, that I would have been glad to be the like: and I went astray through pride, and was carried about with every wind, and yet was steered by

thee, though exceeding secretly. But whence do I know, and whence do I so confidently confess to thee, that I loved him more from the love of those that praised him, than from the things themselves for which he was praised? Because if the same men, instead of praising him had disparaged him, and related those same things of him with contempt and scorn, I should not have been so taken with him. Yet certainly those things would not have been otherwise, nor the man himself another, but only different the affection of the relaters. See where a weak soul lies, that is not yet fixed upon the solidity of truth. As the gales of tongues blow from the breasts of fallible men, so is she carried and turned and whirled about, and her light is intercepted by clouds, and she sees not the truth; and yet behold it stands before us. And it seemed to me a great matter, if my style and my studies were known to such a man: which if he approved, I should be still more inflamed; but if he disapproved them, it would have wounded my vain heart that was void and empty of thy solidity. And yet that *fair* and *fit*, concerning which I wrote to him, I turned over with delight in my mind under the eye of my contemplation, and admired it by myself alone where I had no one to praise it with me.

CHAPTER XV

HIS FALSE IMAGINATIONS CONCERNING THESE THINGS.

1. But I did not as yet see the hinge of so great a matter in thy art, O thou Almighty, *who alone workest wonderful things;* and my soul ranged through corporeal forms; and I defined that to be *fair* which is absolutely graceful of itself, and that to be *fit*, which is graceful by its application to another; both which I maintained by corporeal instances. And I turned myself to the nature of the soul; and the false opinion which I had of spiritual beings did not suffer me to discern the truth. And such was the power of truth, that it was still flashing upon my eyes; and turned away my winking mind from things incorporeal to lineaments, and colours, and swelling magnitudes. And because I could not see these things in my soul, I thought I could not see my soul. And whereas in virtue I loved *peace*, and in vice hated *discord*, I remarked a certain *unity* in the one, and a *division* in the other: and I imagined that the rational mind, and the nature of truth, and the sovereign good [*summum bonum*] consisted in that unity; and in that division. I know not what substance of irrational life and the nature of the sovereign evil [*summum malum*] which, wretch as I was, I took to be not only a substance, but also a life, and yet not to have its being from thee, O my God, from whom are all things: and the one I called

Monade or Unity, as it were a mind without any sex; the other a *Dyade* or Duality, *viz.*, *Wrath* in crimes of malice, and *lust* in impurities; not knowing what I said.

2. For I did not then know, nor had I learnt, that evil was no substance at all; and that our mind itself was not the sovereign and unchangeable good. For as crimes of malice are then committed, when that motion of the soul, in which force is seated, is faulty, and behaveth itself insolently and turbulently; and impurities then, when that affection of the soul, wherein carnal pleasures are received, is intemperate; so also errors and false opinions are stains in life, if the rational mind itself be vicious, as it was then in me, not knowing that it was to be enlightened with another light, in order to be partaker of the truth, because itself is not the very nature of truth. Because it is *thou that shalt enlighten my light, O Lord my God, thou shalt enlighten my darkness*, Psalm 71, and of *thy fulness we have all received; for thou art the true light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world*, St. John 1. *v.* 9. 16, for in thee *there is no change nor shadow* of a moment, St. James 1. *v.* 17. But I pretended to aspire to thee, and was driven back from thee, to taste death, because thou resisteth the proud

3. And what could be prouder than for me to affirm with strange madness, that myself was naturally what thou art. And whereas I was mutable, which was plain to me, since I

desired to be wise, that from being worse I might become better, I chose rather to believe thee also to be mutable, than not to think that I was that same thing which thou art. Therefore was I repelled by thee, and thou didst resist my puffed up neck; and I could only imagine corporeal forms, and being flesh I accused the flesh, and being a *spirit going forward I returned not* as yet to thee, but going on I passed to those things which have no being neither in me, nor in thee, nor in any body. Neither were they created for me by thy truth, but were devised by my vanity from the body. And I would be saying to the little ones thy faithful, my fellow-citizens, from whom I lived an exile without knowing it, I would be saying to them, talkative and empty as I was, *why does that soul err which God has made?* And I was not willing that it should be said to me, *why then does God err?* And I rather contended that thy immutable substance had been necessitated to err, sooner than I would confess that mine, which is mutable, had, by its free-will, gone astray, and was liable to error.

4. And I was about six or seven and twenty years of age, when I wrote those books, revolving within myself the corporeal fancies that continually buzzed about the ears of my heart, with which ears, *O sweet truth*, I desired to attend to thy interior melody, meditating on this *fair and fit*, and longing to stand and hear thee, *and with joy to rejoice at the voice of the bridegroom*, St. John 3, and I could not, because

I was called abroad by the voice of my error; and by the weight of my pride I fell down to the bottom; for *thou didst not give joy and gladness to my hearing, neither did the bones rejoice* that were not yet *humbled*, Psalm 50.

CHAPTER XVI.

HIS GREAT WIT, ACQUIRING ALL THE LIBERAL SCIENCES WITHOUT A TEACHER, YET GROSSLY ERRING IN RELIGION

1 AND what did it profit me, that when I was scarce twenty years old a piece of *Aristotle*, called his ten Categories, or Predicaments, having fallen into my hands (which my master, that taught rhetoric at *Carthage*, and others that were accounted learned, spoke of with their cheeks almost bursting with pride, and I upon that account greedily gaped after, as I know not what profound and divine piece) I read it alone by myself and understood it? Upon which when I had conferred with others, who said they had much ado to understand those things, even with the help of the best masters, not only expounding them in words, but also for the better explaining them, drawing many figures in the dust; I did not find they could give me any better account of these ten predicaments than what I knew by my own private reading. And they seemed to me to speak plain enough of *substances*, such as a man is; and of the things that are in these substances, such as the *figure* (quality) of a man, what sort of a man he is; his *stature* (quantity)

how many foot high he is, his *kindred* (relation) whose brother he is; or where he is placed; or *when* he was born; or whether he *sit* or *stand;* or whether he be *shod* or *armed;* or whether he *do* or *suffer* any thing; and whatsoever else is found in these nine kinds (of accidents) whereof I have given these examples, or in the kind of substance of which there are innumerable species.

2. What did this profit me, when indeed it did me harm? Since I, thinking that whatever had a being was comprehended in those ten predicaments, endeavoured also to conceive thee, O my God (who art without any composition and unchangeable) in such manner as if thou also wert the *subject* to thy *greatness* to thy *beauty*, so that they were inherent in thee, as they are in bodies; whereas thy very being is thy greatness and thy beauty; but as for bodies, their being great or beautiful is not the same as their bodies, for if they were less great or less beautiful, they would nevertheless be bodies: for what I imagined of thee was a falsity, and not the truth; the fiction of my error, not the solid foundation of thy blessedness. For thou hast commanded, Gen. 3, and so it came to pass unto me that *the earth should bring forth thorns and briars unto me*, and that with labour I should come to my bread.

3. And again what did it profit me, that I read and understood by myself all the books that I could procure of those which they call the *liberal arts*, whilst I myself was all the while a wretched slave to my wicked lusts?

And I rejoiced in them; and did not know whence all that was which was true and certain in them. For I had my back turned to the light, and my face upon the things enlightened, and so my face with which I saw the things that were illustrated by the light, was not illuminated. Whatsoever was there taught concerning the art of speaking, and of reasoning, whatsoever concerning the dimensions of figures, and of music, and of numbers, I understood with no great difficulty, without any master Thou knowest it, O Lord my God; for both quickness of apprehension, and sharpness of wit for learning, are thy gifts, though I did not from thence offer sacrifice to thee. Therefore it was not to my profit, but rather to my prejudice, that I desired to have so good a part of my portion (St. Luke 15.) in my own hands; and I did not keep my strength for thee but went away from thee into a far country, that I might waste it upon the harlots of wicked desires. For what did a good thing profit me, who did not make good use of it? For I perceived not that those arts were not understood even by the studious and ingenious, without great difficulty, till afterwards when I endeavoured to explain them to them; and he was accounted the most excellent amongst them, that was the least slow in apprehending what I expounded to him.

4. But yet what did this profit me, who was thinking all this while that thou, O Lord my God the truth, wert only a lucid and immense body, and I myself a little piece from that body.

Oh, exceeding great perverseness! But so it was with me, nor am I ashamed now to confess to thee thy mercies towards me, and to call upon thee, who was not ashamed then to profess my blasphemies to men, and to bark against thee. What then did my wit profit me, which was so quick in acquiring those sciences, and without any man's help understood so many knotty books, when I so foully and sacrilegiously erred in the doctrine of piety? Or what disadvantage was a much slower capacity to thy little ones, who never strayed far from thee, that so they might be safely feathered in the nest of thy church, and have the wings of Charity advanced to their due perfection by the aliment of sound faith.

5. O Lord our God, let us even hope in the covert of thy wings, and do thou protect us, and bear us up, *Thou shalt bear up when we are little ones, and even to our old age, thou shalt bear us up*, Isaiah 46. Because when thou art our strength, it is strength indeed, but when 'tis our own, 'tis all weakness; with thee always liveth our good, and because we were averted from thee we were perverted. Let us now return to thee, O Lord, that we may not be overturned; for with thee liveth without any decay our good, which is thyself. And we need not fear lest at our return there should not be a place to receive us, for though we indeed fell by departing from thence, yet in our absence our house or home did not fall, which is thy eternity.

ST AUGUSTIN'S

CONFESSIONS

BOOK V.

CHAPTER I

HE OFFERS HIS CONFESSIONS AND PRAISES TO GOD.

RECEIVE, O Lord, the sacrifice of those my confessions from the hand of my tongue, which thou hast formed and excited to confess to thy name; and do thou *heal all my bones, that they may say, O Lord, who is like unto thee*, Psalm 34. For he that confesseth to thee does not teach thee what is done within him, for no heart is so close as to shut out thy eye; nor does the hardness of men repel thy hand, but thou dost soften it when thou wilt, either in thy mercy, or in thy vengeance; *and there is no one that can hide himself from thy heat*, Psalm 18. But let my soul praise thee, that she may love thee; and confess thy mercies to thee, that she may praise thee. Thy whole creation never ceaseth, nor is ever silent in thy praises: every spirit praiseth thee by the mouth converted to thee, and all living creatures and corporeal things by the mouth of such as contemplate thy wisdom in them; that this soul of ours may ascend from its weariness towards thee, by the steps of the things thou

hast made, and may pass on to thee who hast wonderfully made them, and there is its refection and true strength

CHAPTER II

THAT GOD IS EVERY WHERE PRESENT, TO WHOM HE EXHORTS SINNERS TO RETURN

1. Sinners ever restless and unjust go and fly away from thee, and thou seest them, and distinguishest the shades, and behold all things with them are beautiful, and they themselves are deformed. And wherein have they been able to hurt thee, or in what have they prejudiced thy empire, which from the highest Heavens to the lowest abyss is ever just and entire? For whither did they fly when they fled from thy face: or where dost thou not find them out: but they fled away, that they might not see thee; who always seest them; and being blinded might stumble upon thee, who never departest from any of the things thou hast made. Unjust as they were they ran against thee, and met with a just punishment: withdrawing themselves from thy lenity, and stumbling upon thy righteousness, and falling on thy severity: not thinking that thou art every where, whom no place can circumscribe, and alone art present even to those who are far from thee.

2. Let them be converted then, and seek thee, for though they have forsaken thee their Creator, yet thou hast not forsaken thy crea-

ture. Let them return and seek thee, and lo thou art there in their heart, in the heart of them that confess to thee, and that cast themselves upon thee, and in thy bosom bewail the craggy ways in which they have walked: and thou in thy mercy wilt wipe away their tears, that they may weep the more, and find their comfort in weeping; for thou, O Lord, and not man, flesh and blood, but thou, O Lord, who madest them, dost refresh and comfort them. And where was I when I did seek thee? And thou wast before me, but I was strayed away from myself, and did not find myself, how much less could I find thee?

CHAPTER III.

FAUSTUS, A MANICHÆAN BISHOP COMES TO CARTHAGE: THE PHILOSOPHERS' TENETS, IN REGARD TO THE SCIENCES, ARE FOUND MUCH MORE PROBABLE THAN THE MANICHÆANS.

1. I WILL now recount in the presence of my God, the twenty-ninth year of my age. There was then come to Carthage a certain Bishop of the *Manichæans*, named *Faustus*, a great snare of the devil, and many were caught therein by the bait of his sweet language; which I, though I praised, distinguished nevertheless from the truth of the things, which I was desirous to learn; neither did I consider in what kind of dish of language, but what kind of food of science was set before me by this *Faustus*, who was so much talked of amongst them. For fame had

before represented him to me as one most knowing in all good learning, and perfectly skilled in the liberal sciences. And as I had read and remembered much of the philosophers' tenets, I had compared some of them with those long fables of the *Manichæans*, and those things seemed to me of the two to be the more probable, which they (the philosophers) had said, who *arrived so far as to estimate the world, though they did not find out the Lord thereof*, Wisdom 13. *Because thou art great, O Lord and regardest the things that are low, but those that are high thou knowest afar off*, Psalm 137. neither dost thou draw near to any but the contrite in heart, nor art thou found by the proud, though by their curious skill they number the stars and the sand, and measure out the celestial regions, and discover the courses of the planets. These things they search into by their mind and the wit which thou hast given them, and many things they have discovered, and foretold long beforehand, the eclipses of the sun and moon, what day, what hour, and in how many digits they should happen, and their calculation has been found true, and it has come to pass as they foretold: and they have left in writing rules which they have found out by their study, and they are read to this day; and by them men still foretell what year, what month of the year, what day of the month, what hour of the day, and for what part of its light the sun or moon shall be eclipsed, and it happens punctually as it is foretold. And these

things the ignorant admire and stand amazed at, whilst they that know them rejoice, and are puffed up with them, and by their impious pride departing from thee, and hiding thy light from themselves, they foresee the eclipses of the sun so long before, and see not their own which at present they suffer.

2. For they do not religiously search from whence they have this wit, by which they search out these things: and if they find that thou hast made them, they don't give themselves to thee, that thou mayest keep what thou hast made: nor do they slay and sacrifice to thee that which they have made themselves, killing their proud imaginations as fowls of the air; and their curiosities, with which they dive into the secret paths of the deep, as fishes of the sea; and their luxuries as beasts of the field; that thou, O God, who art a consuming fire, mayest consume their dead cares, and renew them to immortality.

3. But they did not know the *way*, which is thy *word*, by which thou hast made all those things that they number, and themselves who number them, and the sense by which they see the things they number, and the understanding by which they know how to number, and *of thy wisdom there is no number*, Psalm 147. This *word* thy only begotten Son was *made to us wisdom, and justice, and sanctification*, 1 Cor. 1. And he was numbered amongst us, and paid tribute to *Cæsar*. This *way* then they did not know, by which they were to go down from

themselves to him, and so through him go up to him. They knew not this way, and they take themselves to be high and bright like the stars; and lo they are fallen down to the earth, and *their foolish heart is darkened*, Rom. 1 And they say many true things concerning the creature, but the true Maker thereof they do not piously seek, and therefore they do not find: or if they find him, *knowing God they honour him not as God, or give him thanks, but are vain in their thoughts, and say they are wise*, Rom. 1, by attributing to themselves what is thine; and so study by a most perverse blindness to attribute also to thee what is their own, that is, making lies of thee who art the truth, and *changing the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of the image of a corruptible man, and of birds, and of four-footed beasts, and of serpents; and they turn thy truth into a lie, and they worship and serve the creature rather than the Creator.*

4. Yet many true things did I retain in my memory, which they had delivered concerning the creature; and reason confirmed these things to me from the calculations and the course of times, and the visible attestations of the stars; and I compared them with what *Manichæus* had said, who has written much of these things, being most copious in his *dotages;* and I could discover therein no reason, neither of Solstices, and Equinoxes, nor of the eclipses, nor any of those things which I had learned in the books of secular wisdom; only there I was

commanded to believe, and what I was to believe, did not agree with those accounts which my calculations and my eyes discovered, but was far different from it.

CHAPTER IV

'TIS NOT THE KNOWLEDGE OF HUMAN SCIENCES, BUT OF GOD ALONE, THAT CAN MAKE US HAPPY

1. Is then, O Lord, the God of truth, such a one as knows these things pleasing to thee? unhappy is the man who knows all these things, and knows not thee: and he is happy who knows thee, although he knows not these things. And whosoever knows both thee and them, is not more happy for knowing them, but only happy for knowing thee, provided that knowing thee he glorify thee as God, and give thee thanks, and become not vain in his own thoughts.

2. For as he is better that knows how to possess a tree, and gives thee thanks for the use of it, though he knows not how many cubits high it is, nor what is its breadth, than he who takes the dimensions of it and numbers all its branches, but neither is the owner of it, nor knows or loves its maker: even so the *Faithful* (to whom the whole world of riches belongs, and who, as it were, having nothing possesseth all things, by adhering to thee who art the Lord of all things) though he knows not so much as the short revolution of *Charles's Wain*, yet it would be a folly to call in question his being

better than he that measures the Heavens and numbers the stars, and weighs the elements, and in the mean while neglects thee, who hast ordered all things in measure, number and weight.

CHAPTER V

THE VANITY OF MANICHÆUS IN PRETENDING TO WRITE ON THOSE THINGS WHICH HE KNEW NOTHING OF.

1. But who required of this *Manichæus* (I know not who) to write upon these things, without the knowledge of which piety might well be learnt? For thou hast said to man, *behold piety is Wisdom*, Job 28, which he might still be ignorant of, though he had known these things ever so perfectly. Whereas not knowing these things, and yet most impudently taking upon him to teach them, he could not but be a stranger to it. [*i. e.* to piety] For it is a vanity to profess these worldly things when known, but piety to confess to thee, but he *Manichæus* being gone out of the way of piety, spoke much of these worldly things, that being in these things convinced of error by those that had truly learnt them, men might know what judgment to make of his opinions in things more hidden and obscure. For he was not willing to be looked upon as any mean person, but endeavoured to persuade men that the Holy Ghost the comforter and enricher of thy faithful, with full authority personally resided in him. So that he being found to have

delivered false things concerning the Heaven and the stars, and the motions of the sun and moon, though these things belong not to the doctrine of religion, yet it must be evident, that his pretensions were sacrilegious, who gave out these things, of which he not only was ignorant, but which indeed were false, with such an extravagant vanity of pride, as to strive to attribute them to himself as to a divine person. For when I hear this or that christian brother who knows not these things, and takes one thing for another, I regard the man with patience, and overlook his mistake; and I see it does him no harm, provided he believes nothing amiss of thee, O Lord, the creator of all things, though perhaps he is ignorant of the situation and order of the corporeal creation. Yet it does harm if he takes this to belong to the very form of the doctrine of piety, and presumes stiffly to affirm what he knows not; though this weakness also in a faith that is but in its infancy, is borne withal by charity a tender mother, till the new man grow up into a perfect man, so as not to be carried about with every wind of doctrine, Eph. 4. But for him who presumed to make himself the teacher, the author, the leader, and chief of those to whom he persuaded these things, in such a manner as to make them believe who followed him that they followed not any man, but thy holy spirit, for such a one, I say, as this to be convicted of having taught any thing that was false, must make the extravagance of the man

both visible and odious to every one. However, I had not yet certainly discovered whether the vicissitudes of the longer and shorter days and nights, and of the night itself and the day, and the eclipses, and what else of this kind I had read in other books, might not also be explained according to his words; for if it could, it would become indeed uncertain to me whether it were so or not; but I should have proposed to myself his authority for a motive of my belief, for the opinion I had of his sanctity.

CHAPTER VI

HE FINDS FAUSTUS NATURALLY ELOQUENT, BUT IGNORANT OF THE LIBERAL SCIENCES, AND UNABLE TO GIVE HIM SATISFACTION IN HIS DOUBTS.

1. And for almost all those nine years in which with an unsettled mind I had given ear to them (the *Manichæans*) I had with a longing desire looked for the coming of this Faustus: for the rest I had met with, unable to solve my doubts, still promised him to me, as one by whose coming and conferring with me not only those but any harder queries would be easily cleared up. When he came therefore I found him a man pleasant and agreeable in his discourse and giving out the same things as they are accustomed to say, but much more gracefully: but what! was my thirst relieved by having these precious (but empty) cups set before me by so graceful a waiter? My ears

were already cloyed with such things; neither did they now seem any better to me, because they were better delivered; nor therefore true because elegant; nor the soul therefore wiser because the countenance was agreeable, and the utterance graceful. And those who had promised him to me did not make a right estimation of things, when they took him to be prudent and wise, because his speech delighted them. On the other side, I have also met with another kind of men, who even suspect truth itself, and will not assent to it, when delivered in polite and elegant speech. But thou hadst then already taught me, O my God, by wonderful and secret ways, (and I therefore believe that thou hadst taught it to me because it is true, and thou alone art the teacher of truth wheresoever and whensoever it shines upon us) thou hadst, I say, already taught me, that neither any thing should be therefore esteemed true, because it is eloquently delivered, nor therefore false, because it is couched in words ill put together; nor again therefore true, because unpolite, nor therefore false, because elegant; but that wisdom and folly (truth and falsehood) are like wholesome and hurtful meats, both of which may be served up in good or mean language, as in fine or plain dishes.

2. Therefore my great desire with which I had so long looked for this man was indeed pleased with the motion and affection of his discourse, and his words so well adapted to his subject, and occurring with great facility to

dress up his thoughts withal: and I was delighted, and with many others, and more than many others I praised and extolled him. But I was uneasy that in the multitude of his auditors I was not permitted to have him to myself, and to communicate to him the queries that gave me trouble, by conferring familiarly together in mutual conversation. Which as soon as I had an opportunity of, and began to have his ears at leisure to hear me in the company of my friends, at a time when it was not improper to discourse matters over together; I produced some of those things that gave me pain: when I quickly found that the man was a stranger to all the liberal sciences, excepting grammar, of which he had but an ordinary knowledge: and that having read some of Tully's orations, and a few books of Seneca and some of the poets, and as many of the books of his own sect as had been written politely and in good Latin, and having improved himself by daily exercising his talent, in speaking, he had by this means acquired that eloquence, which became more agreeable and more apt to impose upon the hearers by the management of his wit, and a certain natural gracefulness of speech. Is it not thus as I remember, O Lord, my God, the witness of my conscience? my heart and my remembrance is in thy sight, who in the hidden secret of thy providence wast then moving me, and wast beginning to bring my shameful errors before my face, that I might see and detest them.

CHAPTER VII

HIS AFFECTION TO THE MANICHÆAN DOCTRINE IS MUCH ABATED UPON DISCOVERY OF FAUSTUS'S IGNORANCE.

1. For after this I was sufficiently convinced of his being ignorant of those arts, in which I had thought he excelled, I began to despair of receiving from him any solution of those doubts which perplexed me: in which a man, though ignorant, might nevertheless retain the truth of piety, supposing he were not a Manichæan. For their books are full of tedious fables of the Heavens, and the stars, and the Sun and Moon, which now I no longer thought that he could clearly explain to me (which was what I wanted) by comparing the calculations which I had read in other books with what Manichæus had written, and giving me better or as good reasons for those things in the Manichæan system. Which when I proposed to be considered and discussed, he modestly excused himself from undertaking the task, for he was sensible of his being ignorant of these things, and was not ashamed to acknowledge it. He was not like those talkative ones whom I had met with before, who undertook to teach me these things, and said nothing to the purpose. But he had a heart, though not right towards thee, yet not unweary with regard to himself: he was not altogether ignorant of his own ignorance, and therefore was not willing rashly to engage himself in a controversy which might

drive him into those straights out of which he could neither find any issue nor a fair retreat. And this carriage of his gave me a greater liking to him: for the modesty of a soul confessing its defect is something more beautiful than the knowledge of those things which I desired to learn of him. And in all harder and more subtle questions I found him the same.

2. The affection therefore which I had for the doctrine of *Manichæus* being now much abated, and despairing of their other doctors, when he who was so much cried up amongst them appeared so ignorant of so many things which moved me; I began to turn my conversation with him upon those studies which he much affected, which I, being then master of rhetoric, taught the youth of Carthage, and to read with him such books as he desired to hear, or I thought would be suitable for such a wit. But all my pretensions of making further progress in that sect, upon my acquaintance with this man, quite fell to the ground: not that I quite forsook them: but as not finding any thing better, I determined to remain content with what I had stumbled upon, till I could discover something more worthy of my choice.

3. Thus this Faustus, who was to many the snare of death, began to lose that in which I was taken, neither willing nor knowing it. For thy hand, O my God, in the secret of thy providence, never let go my soul; whilst my mother offered to thee day and night for me the

sacrifice of a bleeding heart by her continual tears; and thou didst deal with me by wonderful and secret ways. 'Twas thou didst this, O my God; for *by the Lord shall the steps of man be directed, and he shall order his way*, Psalm 36. Or what other cause can procure our safety but thy hand, repairing that which thou hast made

CHAPTER VIII

BEING OFFENDED WITH THE WAYS OF THE SCHOLARS OF CARTHAGE, HE REMOVES FROM THENCE TO ROME, MUCH AGAINST HIS MOTHER'S WILL.

1. THOU didst deal therefore with me that I should be persuaded to go to Rome, and rather to teach there what I taught at Carthage. And how I came to be persuaded to this, I will not omit to confess to thee; because in these things also thy most secret workings, and thy mercy ever most present to us, deserve to be considered and published with praise. My design of going to Rome was not for the sake of the greater profits and greater honour which were promised by my friends who persuaded me to it; though this sort of things at that time swayed my inclinations: but the chief, and almost only cause was, that I heard that the youth there studied more quietly, and were kept under more orderly discipline; and that the scholars of one school were not suffered impudently to rush into the school of another master, nor were admitted at all without his leave Where-

as the liberty which the students take at Carthage is shameful and intolerable. They break into other schools, and with an impudence approaching to rudeness, disturb the order which each master has appointed for the proficiency of his scholars; and commit many outrages with strange blindness, which would be punished by the laws, were they not patronized by custom; which makes them by so much the more miserable, by how much the less scruple they now make of doing that which by thy eternal law will never be tolerated; and they think that they do it with impunity, when indeed their blindness with which they commit these things is itself a great punishment, and the mischief they suffer from so doing is incomparably worse than that which they cause to others. Therefore these wicked ways which, when I was a student myself, I hated to follow, I was now forced when a master to suffer from others, and upon this account I determined to remove to a place where all knowing persons assured me no such things were done.

2. But thou, *my hope and my portion in the land of the living*, Psalm 141, that I might change my earthly dwelling for the welfare of my soul, didst both administer a spur to drive me from Carthage, and propose to me allurements to draw me to Rome, by the means of men who loved this dying life, on the one side acting mad things, on the other side promising vain things. And for the correcting of my steps, thou secretly madest use of both their

and my own perversity. For both they that disturbed my quiet were blind with a shameful madness, and they that invited me to remove relished nothing but the earth: and I myself, who loathed here my true misery, coveted a false happiness there

3. But the true reason why I should go from this place to the other, thou knowest, O my God, and didst not discover it, neither to me, nor to my mother, who grievously lamented my departure, and followed me to the sea-side And I finding that she stuck close to me, resolved either to bring me back, or go with me, deceived her, and feigned that my design was only to accompany a friend, whom I would not leave till he had a fair wind to set sail Thus I told a lie to my mother, and to such a mother, and got away. And this sin also thou hast mercifully forgiven me, saving me from the waters of the sea, full as I was of execrable filth, to bring me to the healing waters of thy grace, in which I being washed, the floods of my mother's eyes might be dried up, with which she daily watered the ground, pouring them forth to thee in my behalf. And when she still refused to return without me, I persuaded her with much ado, to remain for that night in a place hard by, which was a memorial (*i. e.* a chapel or oratory) of St. Cyprian. But that same night I stole away, and she was left there praying and weeping. And what was it that with so many tears she begged of thee, but that thou wouldst not suffer me to sail

away? But thou, in the depth of thy counsel hearing the sum of her desires, didst not regard what she in particular then requested, for that thou mightest accomplish the main thing which she always requested for.

4. The wind blew fair and swelled our sails, and carried us out of sight of the shore, where she in the morning was overwhelmed with grief, and with her complaints and sighs filled the ears which slighted these things, whilst thou wast making use of my irregularities to hurry me thither, where these irregularities might have an end; and wast punishing by a just scourge of sorrow her carnal affection to me: for as a mother, she loved to have me with her, and this much more than many mothers; and she did not know how much joy thou wast preparing for her by my going from her. She knew it not, and therefore she wept and lamented, and in these her sufferings showed the relics of Eve, seeking with sorrow what she had brought forth with sorrow. However, after having accused me of deceit and cruelty, she turned herself to thee to pray for me, and went about her accustomed affairs, and I arrived at Rome

CHAPTER IX

HE FALLS SICK AT ROME OF A DANGEROUS FEVER, THE RECOVERY FROM WHICH HE ATTRIBUTES TO HIS MOTHER'S PRAYERS.

1. And behold I was there presently struck with the scourge of corporeal sickness, and was going down to hell, carrying with me all the evils I had committed against thee, against myself or against my neighbours, many and grievous, besides the band of original sin, by which we all die in Adam. For as yet thou hadst remitted nothing unto me in Christ, nor had he in his flesh taken away that enmity with thee, which I had incurred by my sins. For how should he take it away for me, by that phantastical cross, which was all that I believed? As false then as the death of his flesh seemed to me, so true was the death of my soul, and as true as the death of his flesh indeed was, so false was the life of my soul, which believed it not. And thus my fever increasing upon me, I was upon the point of going and perishing for ever. For whither could I have gone, if I had died at that time, but into that fire and torments, which my deeds had deserved in the truth of thy order? And my mother knew nothing of this, and yet though absent, was praying for me: and thou who art every where present, where she was didst hear her, and where I was hadst pity on me, so that I recovered the health of my body, though as yet very much distempered in my

sacrilegious heart. For neither did I so much as desire thy baptism in that my great danger; and I was better when I was a boy, when I earnestly requested it of my mother's piety, as I have before recited and confessed.

2. But now to my shame I was grown up worse; and, fool as I was, derided the prescriptions of thy medicine; and thou didst not suffer me, being in such a case, to die a double death; which would have been such a wound to my mother's heart as could never be cured: for I cannot sufficiently express the affection she had for me, and with how much greater pain she travailed of me to bring me forth to a spiritual life, than she had suffered before at my carnal birth. I see not therefore how she would ever have been cured, if such a sad death as mine had pierced the bowels of her love. And what would then have become of her so many prayers, and so frequent, without intermission ever addressed to thee? Or couldst thou, O God of mercy, despise the contrite and humble heart of so chaste and sober a widow, giving frequent alms, ever obsequious and dutiful to thy saints, never omitting one day the oblation at thy altar; twice a day morning and evening coming to thy church without failing, not for vain gossipping and idle chat, but that she might hear thee in thy words, and thou mightest hear her in her prayers? Couldst thou by whose grace she was such, despise and reject her tears with which she did not beg of thee for gold or sil-

ver, or any fading and perishable good, but the salvation of the soul of her son? no, certainly, O Lord. But thou wast present and didst hear her, and didst accomplish her request, according to the order which thou hadst designed. Far was it from thee that thou shouldst deceive her in those visions and answers of thine, some of which I have mentioned, others I have omitted, which she retained in her faithful breast, and in her prayers ever represented to thee as thy own hand-writings. For thou vouchsafedst, because thy mercy is everlasting, by thy promises, to make thyself a debtor to those whose debts thou remittest.

CHAPTER X

BEING RECOVERED, HE STILL KEEPS COMPANY WITH THE MANICHÆANS, RETAINING MANY OF THEIR ERRORS, BUT WITH MUCH MORE REMISSNESS THAN FORMERLY.

1. Thou wast pleased therefore to recover me from that sickness, and to save the son of thy handmaid at that time, as to the body, that thou mightest afterwards give him a better and more certain salvation. And I consorted then also at Rome with those deceived and deceiving saints; not only with their auditors or hearers, of which number he was one, in whose house I had been ill and recovered, but also with those whom they call the Elect. And I still conceited that it was not we that sinned; but I know not what other nature within us. And

it pleased my pride to be thus without fault; and when I had committed any evil not to confess that I had done it, that so thou mightest heal my soul, which had sinned to thee; but I loved to excuse myself, and to accuse I know not what which was *with* me, and yet was not *me*. Whereas in truth the whole was nothing but *me*, and it was my impiety that had divided me against myself. And my sin was so much the more incurable, because I did not think myself to be the sinner; and my iniquity most execrable, in this that I had rather have thee, O God omnipotent, to be overcome by me to my destruction, than me to be overcome by thee to my salvation.

2. Thou hadst not then as yet *set a watch before my mouth, and a door of caution about my lips, that my heart might not decline after wicked speeches to excuse excuses in sin with men that work iniquity*, Psalm 140, and therefore I still kept a communication with their Elect. Yet so as to despair of making any further progress in that false doctrine, and to be more remiss and negligent in the opinions which I retained, with which I designed to be content, till I could discover something better. For I also began to think that those philosophers, whom they called the Academics were wiser than the rest, because they were of opinion that we ought to doubt of all things, and contended that nothing of truth could be comprehended by man: for such I took their sentiments to

be, as they are commonly represented, not understanding as yet their true meaning.

3. And I did not dissemble to give a check to that excessive confidence, which I found my host had in the fabulous things with which the books of *Manichæus* are full. Yet I had a more familiar friendship for them than for other men, who were not of that sect. And though I did not maintain their doctrine with that earnestness as formerly, yet my familiarity with them (for there are many that lie hidden at Rome) made me more remiss in seeking elsewhere. Especially because I despaired to find in thy church, O Lord of Heaven and Earth, Creator of all things, visible and invisible, the truth from which they had debauched me. And it seemed to me very gross to believe (as they made me think thy church did teach) that thou hast the figure of human flesh, and art circumscribed by the corporeal lineaments of members like ours. And as when I went to think of my God, I could fancy nothing but corporeal extension (for I conceited that whatever had not such extension was nothing) hence was the greatest and almost only cause of my incurable error.

4. For from hence I imagined also that there was a certain substance of evil with its corporeal bulk, dark and deformed; and this either more gross, which they called earth, or more thin and subtle (as the body of the air is) which they conceit to be a malignant mind insinuating itself through that earth And be

cause the least degree of piety obliged me to believe that the good God had created no evil nature, therefore I imagined two opposite substances, the one good, the other evil, both infinite, yet the evil lesser, the good larger, and from this pestiferous principle followed the rest of my sscrilegious opinions. And when at any time my soul would have made an effort to return to the Catholic Faith, I was drove back again, because what I took for the Catholic Faith was not so indeed. And I looked upon it more agreeable to piety, to believe thee, my God (to whom I now confess thy mercies to me) to be infinite on all other sides, though I was forced to acknowledge thee bounded on one side on which the substance of evil stood opposite to thee, than to think thee to be on every side confined within the form of human body.

5. Again, I thought I did better to believe that thou hadst not created any evil, which my ignorance took to be a certain substance, and that corporeal (for I knew not how to conceive even a mind or soul otherwise than as a subtle body spread from thee, and by its extension taking up place) than to believe that such a nature of evil, as I supposed it to be, was from thee. And as for our Saviour, thy only begotten Son, I thought that he was sent forth for our salvation as a stream from the most lucid mass of thy substance, believing nothing else of him than in my vanity I could fancy: and supposing him to be of such a

nature. I did not think he could be born of the Virgin Mary without being mingled with flesh. And how that which I figured to myself could be mingled, and not defiled, I could not see: and therefore I was afraid to believe him born in the flesh, lest I should be obliged to think him defiled by the flesh. Thy spiritual ones, if they read these my confessions, will kindly and lovingly laugh at my folly, yet such I then was.

CHAPTER XI

HE FINDS THE MANICHÆANS UNABLE TO GIVE A SATISFACTORY ANSWER TO THE OBJECTIONS OF THE CATHOLICS FROM SCRIPTURE.

AGAIN, I thought that those things could not be defended which these men reprehended in thy Scriptures. But sometimes I had a desire to confer upon every particular with some person well read in those books, and to see what he could say. For already the discourses of one Helpidius, disputing in public with the *Manichæans* at Carthage, had began to move me, who had pressed many things out of the Scriptures against them, to which little could be said: and their answer seemed to me very weak (which they did not often give in public, but in private to us (namely, that the Scriptures of the New Testament were falsified, by I know not who, that had a mind to insert the Jewish law into the Christian Faith: yet themselves did not produce any other

copies that were not thus corrupted. But all this while that which most oppressed me, and kept me in darkness, was that I could think of nothing but corporeal magnitudes under the weight of which I lay gasping after the air of thy truth, and could not yet breathe it in its purity and simplicity.

CHAPTER XII

HE BEGINS TO OPEN A SCHOOL OF RHETORIC AT ROME, AND IS INFORMED OF THE FRAUDULENT PRACTICES OF STUDENTS THERE.

1. I BEGAN now diligently to set about that for which I came to Rome, *viz.* the teaching of rhetoric; and first to gather some to my lodging, to whom and by whom I began to be known. And behold I am informed of some practices at Rome, which I suffered not in Africa. For I was assured indeed that there were no such tumultuous disorders of wicked young men here as there: but then, said they, many of them, to avoid paying their master, are used on a sudden to conspire together, and to depart to another school, deserters of their word, and despising honesty for the love of money. Such as these also my heart hated, though not with a *perfect* hate: for perhaps I hated more the damage I should suffer from them, than the crime they committed.

2. Yet certainly such as these are very base, and *go a whoring from thee*, by loving these transitory things the sport of time, and

dirty lucre, which defiles the hand of him that catches at it; and by embracing this world, that is ever flying away, and slighting thee, who always remainest, and callest after them, and art ready to pardon the poor soul that from her fornications returneth to thee. And now indeed I hate such as these, as wicked and deformed, yet so as to love their amendment, that they may prefer the doctrine they learn before money, and before their learning may prefer thee, O God, the truth, and the abundance of all assured good, and the most pure peace. But at that time I rather was unwilling to do them evil for my own sake, than wished them good for thine.

CHAPTER XIII

HE REMOVES FROM ROME TO TEACH RHETORIC AT MILAN, AND IS KINDLY RECEIVED BY ST. AMBROSE

1. When therefore an order was sent from Milan to Rome to the Prefect of the city, to provide a professor of Rhetoric for that town, and to send him thither upon the public charges, I made suit to Symmachus the prefect, by those same persons who were intoxicated with the *Manichæan* vanities (which I was going to be delivered from, though neither they nor I knew any thing of that) that upon making trial of my ability upon some subject of oratory, he would send me thither. And thus I came to Milian, to Ambrose the Bishop, known among the most excellent to the whole

world, a devout servant of thine, whose discourses plentifully administered to thy people there the pure flour of thy wheat, and the gladness of thy oil, and the sober inebriation of thy wine. To him was I brought by thee, not knowing it, that by him I might be brought to thee, knowing it. That man of God received me with a fatherly affection, and with a charity worthy of a Bishop entertained my peregrination.

2. And I began to love him, not at first as a doctor of truth, which I had no hopes of meeting with in thy Church, but as a man that was kind to me. And I diligently heard him when he preached to the people; not with a right intention, but as it were to make trial of his eloquence, whether it were answerable to the fame thereof, or whether it were greater or less than was reported: and I stood very intent upon his words, though taking no notice of, and despising the things he treated. And I was delighted with the elegance of his discourse, which was more learned than that of Faustus, yet not so pleasing and winning as to the manner of delivering himself. But as to the matter there was no comparison: for the one wandered out of the way through the deceitful paths of Manichæism; the other taught the sound doctrine of salvation. But *Salvation is far from sinners*, Psalm 118, such as I then stood before him, and yet I was insensibly drawn nigher, and I knew t not.

CHAPTER XIV.

HE IS BY LITTLE AND LITTLE RECONCILED TO THE CATHOLIC DOCTRINE, BY THE PREACHING OF ST. AMBROSE.

1. For whilst I minded not to learn what he said, but only to hear how he said it, (for this vain care only remained in me, who despaired of finding my way to thee) there came into my soul together with the words which I valued, the things which I slighted; for I could not separate them. And whilst I opened my heart to entertain the eloquence of his sayings, there came in at the same time the truth of what he said; though this by gentle degrees. For first it began to seem to me that the things he said might be defended; and so I began to think, that the Catholic faith, for which I had before supposed nothing could be said in answer to the objections of the *Manichæans*, might be plausibly obtained. Especially, after I had heard several of the obscure places of the Old Testament explained and cleared up; which when I understood literally I was killed spiritually.

2. When therefore very many places of those books had been thus explained; I began to reprehend my despair, yet thus far only, that I should think that no reply could be made to those that rejected and derided the law and the prophets. Neither did I think that the Catholic way was therefore now to be taken by me, because it could have learned patrons, who were able to give copious an-

swers, and those not absurd to their adversaries objections; nor yet that what I held was to be condemned, because both were defensible. For the Catholic cause in such manner seemed to me not conquered, as yet not to appear the conqueror. I began then diligently to apply my mind to consider if I could upon any certain grounds convince the *Manichæans* of falsehood. And could I but once have conceived a spiritual substance, I had quickly demolished and cast out of my soul the whole structure of their system, but I could not.

3. Yet concerning the system of this corporeal world, and all nature which our carnal sense can reach to, the more I considered on it, the more I was convinced by comparing them together, that the Philosophers had come nigher the truth than the Manichæans. Therefore, after the way of the Academics (as they are commonly represented) doubting of all things and wavering between all things, I resolved however to quit the Manichæans, thinking that I ought not even for that time of my doubt, to remain any longer in that sect, before which I now preferred some of the Philosophers; to which Philosophers, notwithstanding, I refused to commit the cure of the sickness of my soul, because they were void of the saving name of Christ. Upon this I determined to continue a Catechumen in the Catholic Church, recommended to me by my parents, till something of certainty should appear, to which I might steer my course

ST. AUGUSTIN'S

CONFESSIONS

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER I

HIS MOTHER MONICA COMES AFTER HIM TO MILAN.

1. O THOU, my hope from my youth, where wast thou then to me, or whither hadst thou withdrawn thyself? Was it not thou that hadst made me, and distinguished me from the beasts and the fowls of the air? wiser than they, and I was walking in darkness and in slippery paths, and was seeking thee abroad in things without me, and I did not find the God of my heart; and I was now sunk into the bottom of the deep, and desponded and despaired of finding truth. And now my mother was come to me, following me over land and sea, courageous through her piety, and in all perils relying on thee. For when they were in danger at sea, she comforted the mariners themselves (by whom the passengers that are unaccustomed to the deep use to be comforted in their frights) assuring them of a safe arrival, because thou hadst promised this to her in a vision.

2. And here she found me in a dangerous

way, in despair of finding out the truth. And when I told her that I was not now a Manichæan, nor as yet a Catholic Christian, she expressed no extraordinary joy as at a thing unexpected, though by this she had her wish as to one great part of my misery, wherein she had long bewailed me as dead, but to be raised up again by thee, and had carried me forth upon the bier of her thoughts, that thou mighest be pleased to say to the son of the widow, *Young man, I say to thee arise*, Luke 7, and that he might return to life, and begin to speak, and thou mighest restore him to his mother But I say her heart was not moved with any turbulent transport of joy, when she heard that what she daily begged with her tears, was so far brought about, that though I was not as yet arrived at truth yet I was now delivered from error. But rather as being sure that in due time thou wouldst give the rest who hadst promised her the whole, she calmly answered with a breast full of divine confidence, that she trusted in Christ that before she died, she should see me a faithful Catholic.

3. And this to me; but to thee, O Fountain of Mercies, she redoubled her prayers and tears that thou would'st [illegible] thine aid, and enlighten my darkness: and she ran more zealously to the church, and was there ever intent upon the words of Ambrose, and that fountain of living water which springeth up unto eternal life For she loved that man as

an Angel of God, because she knew that by his means I had been brought to that doubtful wavering in which I then was; and she certainly presumed that my disease being now brought to its crisis, as the Physicians call it, I should through him pass from sickness to perfect health.

CHAPTER II.

HER READY OBEDIENCE TO ST AMBROSE, PROHIBITING THE CHARITY FEASTS AT THE TOMBS OF THE MARTYRS.

1. THEREFORE when, according to the custom of Africa, she had brought with her to the memorials of the saints, food and bread and wine, and was stopped by the doorkeeper; as soon as ever she understood that the Bishop had prohibited these things, she piously and obediently conformed to his orders, that I admired she should so suddenly become rather an accuser of her former practice, than a disputer of the present prohibition. For her spirit was free from any inclination to intemperance, and she was not like so many men and women, whom the love of wine provoketh to the hate of truth, and who loath a lesson of sobriety, as men in drink loath a cup of water But she, when she had brought her basket furnished with the accustomed provisions, of which she first tasted, and then distributed the rest, put only one small cup of wine, tempered with water, for her sober palate to take a little

taste thereof. And if there were more memorials of the dead that it was thought proper to honour in this manner, the same cup served her for them all, which being now not only much diluted with water, but also hot with carriage, was by small sippings divided between her and her companions, for it was devotion she sought there, not pleasure.

2. When therefore she found that this illustrious preacher and pious prelate had commanded that no such thing should be practised even by the sober, lest others should take occasion from thence of intemperance; and because these things much resembled the superstitious *parentalia* of the *Pagans*, she most willingly abstained from them: and instead of a basket full of the fruits of the earth, she learned to carry to the memories of the martyrs a heart full of more purified vows; and to give what she could to the poor; and there to celebrate the communion of the Lord's Body, by the imitation of whose passion the martyrs were immolated and crowned.

3. However, it seems to me, O Lord my God, and it is the thought of my heart in thy sight, that my mother perhaps would not so easily have yielded to the retrenching of that custom, if it had been prohibited by another man, whom she had not so much regard for, as she had for Ambrose, whom for the sake of my salvation she very much loved; as he also loved her for her most religious conversation, by which in her good works she so fervent in

spirit frequented the Church; so that many times when he saw me he would break forth in her praise, congratulating with me that I had such a mother, not knowing what a son she had in me, who doubted of all things, and thought that the way of life could not be found out.

CHAPTER III

ST. AMBROSE'S EMPLOYMENTS DO NOT ALLOW ST. AUGUSTIN AN OPPORTUNITY OF PRIVATE DISCOURSE WITH HIM; YET HE LEARNS FROM HIS SERMONS THAT THE CATHOLICS DO NOT HOLD WHAT THE MANICHÆANS CHARGED THEM WITH.

1. Neither did I now sigh in prayer that thou mightest show mercy to me; but my soul was intent to make queries, and restless to dispute. And as for *Ambrose* himself, I looked upon him as a man happy according to the world, in being so much honoured by the great ones; only his celibacy or single life seemed to me painful. But what hope he entertained in his soul, and what a conflict he had against the temptations of that eminency, and what comfort he felt in his adversities, and what savoury joys he tasted in the inward mouth of his heart in ruminating upon thy bread, these I had no notion of, nor had expeenced; neither did he know my doubts, nor the depth of my danger.—For I could not confer him with upon what I had a mind, in the manner that I desired, by reason of the many businesses of others, whose infirmities he

served, which kept me from his speech. And the time that he was not with them, which was but little, was either taken up in the necessary refection of his body by its daily food, or of his soul by reading. And when he read, his eyes ran over the pages, and his heart sought understanding, but his voice and tongue were silent. Often when I have been there (for no one was refused entrance, nor was it the custom to give him notice of any one's coming) I have seen him reading in this manner in silence, and never otherwise: and I have sat down, and after a long silence (for who could find in his heart to be troublesome to one so intent?) I have gone away; conjecturing that for that short time which he had for the repairing of his mind, free from the noise of other men's business, he was loth to be taken off from what he was about. And perhaps for this reason did not read aloud, lest his auditor being attentive to the reading, might desire his exposition where the author seemed obscure, or his entering into a discussion of difficult questions; and by this means his time might be abridged, and he hindered from reading so much as he had a mind. Though perhaps his chief cause for reading in silence might be to save his voice, which was easily weakened. But whatever his reason was the intention of that man was certainly good.

2. But indeed I had no opportunity of consulting about the things I desired that oracle of thine his holy breast, unless it were when

the audience could be but short; whereas my perplexities required one perfectly disengaged, to whom they might be represented, and I could never find him so much at leisure. However, I heard him amongst the people *rightly handling the word of truth* on every Lord's-day, and I was more and more convinced that all these knots of artificial calumnies, which my deceivers [the Manichæans] had tied so fast to the prejudice of the divine books [of the Old Testament] might be dissolved.

3. And when I also came to discover, that thy having *made man after thy own image*, was not understood by thy spiritual children, (whom by grace thou hast regenerated of their Catholic Mother) in such manner as to believe or imagine thee to be bounded or limited by the form of a human body; (though as yet I could not in the least apprehend what a spiritual substance could be) I was both glad and ashamed to find that for so many years I had been barking, not at that which was indeed the Catholic faith, but at the fictions of carnal conceits. For I was so rash and wicked all that time, as to be more ready to impose falsehoods upon them, than by inquiry of them to be informed of the truth. For thou, O most high and yet most near, most hidden and yet most present, who art not composed of several members or parts, some greater and some less, but art every where whole, and yet within no place at all, art not indeed this corporeal form, and yet hast made man after thy image, and lo he from head to foot is comprised in place

CHAPTER IV

HE IS STILL MORE ALIENATED FROM THE MANICHÆANS BUT FEARFUL TO YIELD ASSENT TO THE CATHOLIC TRUTHS.

1. When therefore I did not know how this thy image could be, I ought knocking to have inquired in what manner this was to be believed, and not insulting to have opposed it, as if it were believed in the manner I imagined. Hence my interior was gripped with so much greater solicitude, what I should now hold for certain, by how much the more I was ashamed to have been so long deluded and deceived with the promise of certitude, and to have all the while with childish error and heat, prated upon so many uncertainties, as if they had been things most certain. For that they were absolutely false, I did not fully know till afterwards; but I was now sure that they were uncertain, and that I had formerly taken them for certain, when with blind contentions, I accused thy Catholic Church, which though I had not yet fully discovered to be the teacher of truth, yet I found that she taught not those things which I so vehemently had charged her with. Therefore I was confounded, and converted, and rejoiced, O my God, that thy only church the body of thy only Son, in which when a Child I had received the name of Christ, held no such childish fopperies; and that her sound doctrine did not shut up thee, the Creator of all things, within a space or

place, though ever so high and large, yet terminated on every side by the figure of a human body.

2. I rejoiced also that those ancient writings of the law and the prophets were not now proposed to me to be perused with that eye, to which they formerly seemed absurd; when I charged thy saints with sentiments which were not really theirs: and I often heard with pleasure thy servant *Ambrose* in his sermons to the people, repeating and most diligently recommending as a rule that text *the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life*, 2 Cor. 3. When drawing aside the mystical veil, he opened the spiritual sense of many things, which, according to the letter, seemed to teach something that was wrong; treating them in such a manner as gave me no offence, though I did not yet know whether the things he said were true. For I withheld my heart from giving any assent, fearing a precipice, and my supense was no less pernicious. For I wanted to have the same evidence of things invisible, as I had that seven and three make ten: for I was not so mad as to think that even this could not be certainly known; but I desired to have all other things equally demonstrable, whether corporeal, which were not present to my senses; or spiritual, of which I knew not how to think otherwise than in a corporeal manner.

3. And I might have been cured by *believing*, that so the eye-sight of my mind being better cleared, might in some manner have been

directed towards thy truth which remaineth for ever, and is in nothing deficient; but as it often happens, that he who has fallen into the hands of a bad physician, is afterwards afraid to venture himself with a good one; so it was with the malady of my soul, which could not be healed but by believing; and for fear of again believing things that were false, refused to be cured; resisting thy hands who hast made up the medicines of faith, and distributed them abroad for the diseases of the whole world, and given them so great an authority.

CHAPTER V

OF THE DIVINE AUTHORITY OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURES, DELIVERED BY THE CHURCH.

1. And in this thing also I could not but prefer the Catholic doctrine, that I found it was with more modesty and without deceit, men were there commanded to believe what was not yet demonstrated (whether it were really demonstrable, though to some it might not be so, or whether it were not) whereas amongst the *Manichæans believing* was ridiculed, and evidence was rashly promised; and yet after all, many things most fabulous and absurd, which could never be demonstrated, were imposed to be believed. Afterwards by little and little, thou, O Lord, with a most gentle and merciful hand, touching and composing my heart, didst thoroughly persuade me by my considering, how many things I believed which

I had never seen, nor was present when they were transacted, as well in history, and in the accounts of places and cities where I had never been, as in daily occurrences where I took up so many things upon the word of my friends, or of physicians, or of other men, where if I was to suspend my belief, an end must be put to all human commerce; and in particular how firmly I believed that I was born of such parents, a thing which I could not possibly know but by believing those from whom I had heard it; thou didst, I say, thoroughly persuade me that they were not to be blamed that believed thy books, to which thou hast given so great authority almost throughout all nations, but they that believed them not.

2. Nor were any such to be hearkened to who should say, whence dost thou know that these books were delivered to mankind by the spirit of the one true God, who cannot deceive? For this very thing is of all the most credible Because no conflict of cavilling questions in the many opposite systems that I had read in the philosophers could ever extort from me a disbelief of thy being; though I knew not what thou wert: or that the government of human affairs was in thy hands; but though my faith of these things was sometimes indeed stronger, and sometimes weaker, yet I always believed thy being and thy providence over us; though I neither knew what to think of thy substance, nor the way that led or brought us back to thee. Hence, whereas we were too

weak to find out thy truth by clear and evident reason, and therefore stood in need of the authority of holy Scriptures, I now began to believe, that thou wouldst by no means have given such a swaying authority throughout the whole world to those Scriptures, if it had not been thy good pleasure that we should believe thee in them, and seek thee by them.

3. For now the seeming absurdities which had formerly offended me in Scripture, after I had heard many of them probably expounded, I attributed to the depth of its mysteries; and its authority appeared to me so much the more venerable and worthy of a religious assent, in that it was easily to be read in all, and yet preserved the dignity of secrecy in its more profound meaning: stooping down to every one by the plainness of its words and a most humble stile; and yet exercising the best attention of those who are not light of heart; thus with open bosom receiving all, though the passages being narrow it transmits but few to thee; yet many more are thus transmitted than would be, if it either were not so eminent in its authority, or did not invite such multitudes into the lap of its holy humility. These were my thoughts, and thou wast with me: I sighed unto thee, and thou didst hear me: I was tossed about by the waves and thou didst steer my course; I walked in the broad way of the world, and thou didst not leave me

CHAPTER VI

HIS AMBITION, AND THE CARES ATTENDING IT. HIS GREAT SOLICITUDE BEING TO SPEAK A PANEGYRIC BEFORE THE EMPEROR: AND HIS ENVYING THE SECURE MIRTH OF A POOR BEGGAR SEEN IN THE STREETS.

1. I PURSUED after honours, riches, marriage, and thou didst mock at me. I underwent in these my desires, most bitter anxieties, thou being by so much the more merciful to me, by how much the less thou sufferedst any thing to be sweet to me that was not thyself. See thou my heart, O Lord, who art pleased that I should now remember this and confess it to thee. Let my soul now cleave fast to thee, which thou hast rescued from that tenacious birdlime of death, how miserable was she, and thou wast still pricking the most sensible part of her wound, that leaving all other things she might be converted to thee, who art above all things, and without whom all things would be nothing at all; that she might be converted, and so be healed. How miserable was I then, and how didst thou bring it about that I should have a feeling of my misery, upon that day when, having prepared a panegyric in praise of the Emperor, in which I was to tell many lies, and yet be applauded by those who knew them to be lies; and my heart was anxious for the success of the undertaking, and burning in a fever of consuming thoughts. I passed through a certain street in Milan, and

there took notice of a poor beggar, who had got his belly full, I suppose, and was very jocund and full of mirth. And I fetched a great sigh, and spoke to my friends that were with me of the many sorrows of our own follies; for with all our endeavours (such as I was then labouring under, pricked forward by the goad of restless desires, and dragging after me the heavy load of my own infelicity, which the more I drew it grew still the heavier) we fought for nothing else but to arrive at a secure joy, at which this poor beggar had arrived before us, and at which perhaps we should never arrive. For what he had already procured by a few pence, got by begging, was what I was still toiling for through so many winding and difficult paths, *viz.* the pleasure of a temporal felicity.

2. His joy indeed was no true joy, but that which my ambition was pursuing after was much more false. And certainly he was merry, whilst I was perplexed; he was secure, whilst I was in fear. And if any one should have asked me, whether I had rather rejoice or be in fear? I should have answered, I had rather rejoice. But if he should have asked me again, whether I had rather chuse to be in his condition or in my own? I should have preferred my own, notwithstanding all my cares and fears. But by a perverse choice; for what true reason could there be for it? For as for my being more learned, this was no reason why I should prefer myself to him, since I

did not rejoice in this, but only sought thereby to please men; not for the sake of teaching them, but merely to please them. And therefore thou didst most justly stand against me, and didst break my bones with the staff of thy discipline.

3. Away with those therefore from my soul, that say unto it, *there is a great difference between the subjects of joy: the beggar was merry with drink; thou desiredst (a more noble) joy from glory.* What glory was this, O Lord, which was not in thee? For as his mirth was no true joy, so neither was this true glory, and had a worse effect upon my mind. And for his part that very night he would digest his drunkenness; but I had slept and rose again with mine, and was like to sleep and rise again with it, thou knowest for how many days. But there is a difference upon what ground a man rejoiceth: I know it, for the joy of a Christian's hope is incomparably beyond that of vain glory: and there was a difference also between me and him; and the advantage was on his side; for he was the happier of the two; not only in being full of mirth, whilst I was racked with cares; but that he, by begging God's blessing upon people, had got some good wine, and I by telling lies was hunting after empty glory. I said then many things to this purpose to my friends, and often observed how it was with me; and I found it was ill with me, and I grieved, and made my burthen greater And if I met with any prosperity, I

was loth to take any notice of it, because before I could take hold of it, i flew away

CHAPTER VII

OF HIS FRIEND ALIPIUS, WHO HAD BEEN FORMERLY HIS SCHOLAR; AND HOW HE RECLAIMED HIM FROM THE VAIN SPORTS OF THE CIRCUS, WHICH WERE CHIEFLY ALL MANNER OF RACES.

1. I BEMOANED myself in these things together with my friends with whom I lived; but chiefly and more familiarly I communicated my thoughts upon these matters to Alipius and Nebridius. Alipius was a native of the same town with me, and his parents of the best rank there. He was younger than I, and had been my scholar, both when I first set up school in our own town, and afterwards at Carthage: and he loved me much, because he thought me to be learned and good; as I also loved him for his great inclination to virtue, which considering his age was very eminent. Yet the stream of the evil customs of Carthage, where all sorts of vain shows are extremely affected, had carried him away to the follies of the Circus. Now whilst he was miserably hurried away with these sports, I was teaching rhetoric at Carthage, and kept a public school; but by reason of some disagreement between me and his father, he at that time was none of my auditors. I had found out that he was miserably bewitched with the Circus. And it grieved me much, that so great a hopefulness would

now be lost, or rather, to my thinking, was lost already. Nor had I any means of admonishing him, or reclaiming him by any restraint, either by the benevolence of a friend, or the authority of a master. For I imagined he had the like dispositions in my regard as his father had; but it was not so. Therefore neglecting his father's quarrel, he began kindly to salute me, and to come sometimes into my auditory, hearing some part of my lecture, and then departing. But I still forgot to speak to him not to suffer so good a wit to be ruined by a blind and headstrong affection to such vain sports.

2 But thou, O Lord, whose over-ruling Providence presideth over all things that thou hast created, didst not forget him, who was to be one day amongst thy children a Prelate and dispenser of thy Sacrament. And that his reformation in this matter might evidently be thy work, thou wast pleased to effect it by me without my knowing it. For one day when I was sitting in my place, and my scholars were about me, he came in, and saluted me, and sat down and attended to my lecture. Now it happened that in expounding the subject which I had in hand, to make it both more agreeable and more plain, I borrowed a similitude, which seemed to me very proper, from the shows of the Circus, not without a smart derision of those who were slaves to that folly. Thou knowest, O God, that I had no thought at that time of curing Alipius of that malady. But he presently applied it to himself, and thought I

spoke it purely for him. And whereas another would have taken occasion from hence to have been angry with me, he being a well-disposed youth, made it an occasion of being angry with himself, and of loving me the more dearly. For thou hadst said it long ago, and inserted it in thy holy Books, *Rebuke a wise man, and he will love thee*, Prov. 9. v. 8.

3. Yet had I then no thought of rebuking him; but thou, who makest use of all, whether they know it or know it not, according to the order which thou knowest, and that order is ever just, from my heart and tongue didst form burning coals, with which thou wast pleased to set on fire that hopeful soul, which was then in a dangerous way, that so thou mightest cure it. May he be silent in thy praises, who considereth not thy mercies, which I from the bottom of my soul confess to thee. For Alipius after those words immediately recovered himself out of that deep pit, in which he had been willingly sunk, blinded with a wretched pleasure, and shook his soul with a resolute forbearance, and all the dirt of the Circus fell off from him, and he returned thither no more. And after this he prevailed with his unwilling father, that he might be my scholar, who yielded and consented to it. So he again becoming my auditor, was with me involved in that superstition, being much taken with the boasted continency of the Manchæans, which he supposed to be true and sincere; but it was indeed senseless and deceitful, in-

veigling precious souls, who as yet knew not how to reach the height of true virtue, and therefore were easily deceived by a superficial appearance of that which had but the shadow of it, and was counterfeit.

CHAPTER VIII.

HOW ALIPIUS STUDYING THE LAW AT ROME, WAS BROUGHT TO BEHOLD AND TO DELIGHT IN THE BLOODY SHOWS OF THE GLADIATORS.

1. He not forsaking the way of this world, which his parents inculcated to him, was gone to Rome before me to study the law; and there was again carried away with an incredible passion to the shows of the gladiators, and after an incredible manner. For whereas he was very much averse from, and detested these sports, some of his friends and school-fellows meeting him in the streets, after dinner, with a familiar violence, led him along with them, much against his will, to the amphitheatre, upon a day when those cruel and tragical sports were exhibited, he resisting all the while, and telling them, *if you drag my body along with you thither, and place it there, can you force me to turn my mind or my eyes upon those shows? I shall be absent therefore, though present in body, and so overcome both you und them.* They hearing this did not desist from drawing him along with them, having a mind perhaps o try whether he had power to do as he said. Whither so soon as they came, and

had gotten such places as they could, presently those cruel sports began.

2. But Alipius, shutting the door of his eyes, forbid his soul to go out after such wicked objects. And would to God he had shut his ears too! For upon a certain accident in the fight, hearing a great shout of all the people, he was overcome by curiosity, and opened his eyes, designing only to see what was the matter, and whatever it was, to despise it, and overcome it. And he was immediately struck with a more grievous wound in the soul, than the Gladiator whom he desired to behold, was in the body; and he felt himself in a far more deplorable state, than he at whose fall this shout was raised, which entering in at his ears had opened his eyes, and through them had given a mortal wound to his soul, which was more bold than strong, and indeed so much the weaker, because he presumed of himself, who should have confided only in thee. For no sooner did he see that blood, but he also drank down the savage cruelty of it; nor did he turn away his eyes, but fixed them upon it; and he sucked in those furies, and knew it not, and became delighted with the crime of the combat, and was made drunk with that cruel pleasure. And he was not now the man that he came, but one of the multitude to which he came, and a true companion of those who brought him thither. What shall I say more? He looked on, he shouted, he took fire, he carried away with him a madness, by

which he was incited to return again, not only with them who had dragged him thither before, but before them, and drawing others with him. And yet from hence also, with a most strong and merciful hand, thou didst deliver him, and didst teach him to presume no more of himself, but to trust in thee. But this was long afterwards.

CHAPTER IX

HOW ALIPIUS, WHEN A STUDENT AT CARTHAGE, WAS APPREHENDED FOR A THIEF.

1 And this was laid up in his memory for a caution for the future. And that also which happened to him at Carthage, when he studied there and was my scholar, and at mid-day in the Forum was meditating upon the scholastic exercise that he was afterwards to recite, when thou sufferedst him to be apprehended as a thief, (by the officers of the Forum, was, I believe, permitted by thee, my God, for no other reason but that he who was so great a man, might begin to learn by this, how cautious a man ought to be in taking cognizance of causes, not to condemn another by a rash credulity. For as he was then walking alone with his table-book and stile in his hand before the tribunal, another young man, of the numnumber of the scholars, who was the true thief, carrying secretly with him a hatchet, went in, without his perceiving it, to the leaden rails that are over the silversmiths-street,

and began to cut off the lead. The silversmiths underneath, hearing the noise of the hatchet began to murmur among themselves, and sent some to apprehend any one they should find there. The young man overhearing their voices, went off immediately, leaving his instrument for fear he should be taken with it. Alipius, who had not seen him go in, took notice of his coming out and making haste away, and desirous to know the cause, went into the place, and finding the hatchet, stood wondering what should be the meaning of it. In the mean time they that were sent came in, and finding him holding in his hand the hatchet, the noise of which had brought them thither, they apprehended him, and dragged him along; and calling together the shop-keepers of the Forum, congratulated with them that now they had taken the thief in the fact; and from thence they led him to be presented before the judge. And hitherto he was to be instructed. For thou, O Lord, didst immediately come in to vindicate his innocence, of which thou alone wast witness. For as they were leading him along either to prison or to punishment, an architect, who had the chief care of the public buildings, met them; and glad they were to meet him, who used to suspect some of them of having taken away such things as were lost from the Forum, that he might now at length see who it was that had committed all these thefts. But it happened that this man had often seen Alipius, at the

house of a certain senator whom he used to visit, and presently knowing him, took him by the hand aside from the crowd, and asked him how it was that so great a misfortune had befallen him; who told him the whole story; upon which he desired the people, who were in a great tumult and rage, to go along with him. And so they went to the house of the young man who had done the fact; where at the door they met a servant-boy, who was so little as that he might tell the whole matter without suspecting any hurt to his master, whom he had waited upon in the Forum. Alipius knowing him again, intimated it to the architect; and he presently showing him the hatchet, asked him if he knew whose it was. Who presently answered, 'tis ours; and being further examined told all the rest. So the crime was devolved upon another, the mob which had begun to triumph over him was confounded; and he that was to be a dispenser of thy word, and an examiner of many causes in thy Church, departed with more experience and instruction.

N.B. Alipius was afterwards Bishop of Tagaste, and in his time one of the most illustrious prelates of the African Church.

CHAPTER X

ALIPIUS FOLLOWS ST. AUGUSTIN TO MILAN. A MEMORABLE EXAMPLE OF HIS INTEGRITY. OF HIS OTHER FRIEND NEBRIDIUS.

1. HIM therefore I found at Rome, and he stuck close to me with a most strong bond of friendship; and he went with me to Milan, that he might have my company, and might there practise in the law, which he followed according to the inclinations of his parents more than his own. In which he had been already an assessor of justice, admired by the rest for his disinterestedness, whilst for his part he much more wondered at those who valued God above virtue. His disposition in this regard was also tried not only by the allurement of interest, but also by the temptation of fear He was assessor at Rome to the Count that had the charge of the Italian contributions. There was at that time a Senator, a man of great power, by whose favours many had been obliged, and many dreaded his displeasure; he according to the way of his power would needs have I know not what usurpation allowed him, which was prohibited by the laws; Alipius withstood him. A reward was promised him; he scorned it: he was assaulted with threats; he despised them. All admired such an extraordinary spirit as neither wished a man his friend, nor feared him his enemy who was so great and renowed for the innumerable ways he had of doing good or harm to

many. And the judge himself, whose assessor and counsellor he was, though he also had no mind the thing should be done, yet did not openly declare against it, but casting the whole matter upon Alipius, said that he would not suffer him to consent to it. For indeed had the judge passed it, Alipius would have gone off the bench. This one thing only in the way of his studies had almost overswayed him, viz:—a desire of procuring himself books with the *Prætor's** fees. But consulting justice in this, he concluded upon the better part, valuing more that equity which prohibited this, than the power and opportunity he had of doing it.

2. This is indeed a lesser matter; *But he that is faithful in that which is little, is faithful also in that which is great*, St. Luke 16. Neither can that by any means be vain, which has proceeded from the mouth of thy truth, *If in the unjust mammon you have not been faithful, who will trust you with that which is true? and, if in that which is another's you have not been faithful, who will give you that which is yours?* Such was the man who was then closely united to me, and laboured no less than myself, under an uncertainty what course of life we were to take.

3. Nebridius also, who had left his native place, which was not far from Carthage, and Carthage also itself where he most frequently was, had left his father's fine estate and coun-

* Pretiis Prætorianis.

try house, and his mother, who was not like to follow him, and had come to Milan for no other cause, but that he might live with me in a most ardent search after truth and wisdom, joined his sighs with ours, and was under the same perplexity, being a most fervent seeker after a happy life, and a most earnest inquisitor into the most difficult questions. And so there were together three famished mouths, bewailing to one another their wants, and waiting for thee to give them their food in seasonable time; and in all that bitterness which by thy merciful appointment attended our wordly employments, when we considered to what end we underwent those sufferings, we discovered nothing but darkness, and we turned away our eyes with a sigh, and we said, *how long will it be so?* And this we often said, and yet saying so, we did not quit these things, because we could not discover any thing certain, which leaving these we might embrace.

CHAPTER XI

HE DESCRIBES THE COURSE OF HIS VARIOUS THOUGHTS, WHICH SUCCESSIVELY POSSESSED HIS MIND, FROM THE 19TH TO THE 30TH YEAR OF HIS AGE.

1. And I wondered exceedingly, when I considered and called to my remembrance, what a long time it was since the nineteenth year of my age, when I first began to be inflamed with the desire of wisdom, proposing upon the finding thereof to quit all empty hopes

of vain desires and deceitful follies; and now behold me thirty years old, still sticking in the same mire, greedy of enjoying present things, which fly away and dissipate my soul. In the mean time this was the course of my thoughts, "To-morrow I shall find it out; behold it will clearly discover itself, and I shall have it; and behold Faustus will come and explain all. Then, O wise Academics! nothing can be certainly known for the regulating of life. Nay, but let us not despair, but seek with greater diligence. Behold those things, which seemed absurd in the Church's books, are not absurd, but may be understood in another way, and that rationally. I will remain then there where my parents fixed me when a child, till clear truth be found out. But where or when shall we seek it? Ambrose has no leisure; nor have we leisure to read. Where shall we seek proper books? With what, or in what time, procure them? Upon whose recommendations shall we take them? Nay, but let us set some time apart, let us allow certain hours of the day for the salvation of our soul. Great hope appears: the Catholic faith does not teach that which we thought, and vainly charged her with. Her learned look upon it as a crime to believe that God is terminated with the figure of a human body: and why don't we knock, that the rest may be opened? My scholars take up the forenoon; but what do we do with the rest of our hours; and why not this? But when then must we wait upon our greater

friends, whose favour we depend upon? What time must we take to prepare the matter we sell to our scholars? What time to repair ourselves by relaxing our mind from the bent of cares? Let all things perish; let us lay aside these vain and empty things, and set about the inquiry after truth alone. This life is miserable; death is uncertain; if it should come upon us of a sudden, in what a case shall we go hence? And where shall we learn what we have here neglected? And shall we not be punished for this neglect? But what if death put an end to all care, together with sense? This then also must be examined into. But God forbid it should be so. Sure 'tis no vain, no empty matter, that the authority of the Christian faith should have obtained this eminent height all over the world. Never would God have done such and so great things for us, if the death of the body were to put an end to the life of the soul. Why then do we delay, forsaking the hopes of this world, to give ourselves up wholly to seek after God and true beatitude? But stay a little, these things are also pleasant, and have in them no small sweetness; we must not part with them too hastily, for it would be of greater shame to return to them again. See how little we want of obtaining some honourable post; and then we may be easy; we have good store of friends, that are men in power; if nothing else be got, and we are not willing to wait for something better, a presidentship may soon be given us: and we may marry a

wife with some fortune, that she may not be a charge, and here shall be the limits of my desires. Many great men, worthy of imitation, have been married, and yet have given themselves up to the study of wisdom."

2. Whilst I was saying these things, and these contrary winds by turns drove my heart to and fro, the time ran on, and I delayed being converted to the Lord God, and put off from day to day to live in thee, and I did not put off daily dying in myself. I was in love with a happy life, and yet was afraid to seek it where it was to be found; and flying from it, sought after it. For I thought I should be exceedingly miserable, if I were to be deprived of carnal pleasures, and I reflected not of the medicine of thy mercy to cure this infirmity, because I had not tried it; and I supposed continency to be a thing of our own strength, which I knew I had not; and was so foolish as not to know as it is written, Wisdom 8. *That no one can be continent, except thou give it.* And thou indeed wouldst give it, if with hearty sighs I did but knock at thy ears, and with a sound faith cast my care upon thee.

CHAPTER XII

THE DISPUTES BETWEEN HIM AND ALIPIUS, CONCERNING MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE.

1. ALIPIUS was indeed much against my taking a wife, alleging that we could no way with any secure leisure live together in the love

of wisdom, as we had long desired, if I were to marry. For as to his part he was then very chaste, even to a wonder; and having in the beginning of his youth unhappily tasted of those pleasures, he stuck not in the mire, but rather was sorry for what he had done, and despising those enjoyments lived ever after most continently. But I opposed against him the examples of those who being married, had studied wisdom, and pleased God, and had faithfully kept and loved their friends. But alas! I was far off from their greatness of soul, and being delighted with the disease of the flesh, and a pestiferous pleasure, drew my chain still after me, being afraid to be loosed from it; and, as if the wound were touched, rejecting the words of him that so well advised me, as the hand that would unchain me.

2. Moreover, the serpent also by me spoke to Alipius, and by my tongue wove and spread in his way his tempting nets, to entangle those virtuous feet which were then at liberty. For when he much wondered at me, for whom he had no small esteem, that I should stick so fast in the birdlime of that pleasure, as to declare, as often as we discoursed upon that subject, that I could not possibly live a single life: I to defend myself against his admiration would be telling him that there was a vast difference between his short stolen pleasures, of which he had now scarce any remembrance, and therefore easily contemned them, and the delights of my long custom, which being also now to

be qualified and rendered honest by marriage, he could have no reason to wonder at my choice of that kind of life. Upon this he also began to desire a married state, not that he was overcome with a desire of that pleasure, but out of curiosity. For he said he desired to know, what that was which I was so taken with, that my very life which he loved so much, would seem to me no life but a pain without it.

3. For his soul which was free from that chain, wondered at my slavery, and from this wondering proceeded to a desire of trying, ready to go to the trial itself, and from thence perhaps to fall into that slavery which he wondered at; because he had a mind to make *a covenant with death*, Isaiah, 28, and because *He that loveth the danger shall fall into it*, Eccles. 3. For as to whatever there is of good in marriage in the office of ruling a family, and of educating children, neither he nor I had much thought of that; but the custom that I had of satisfying an insatiable concupiscence was that chiefly and most vehemently tortured me, who was already enslaved; and it was his admiration at me what drew him on towards the same slavery. In this way we were till thou, the most high, not forsaking this low earth of ours, but commiserating our misery, didst relieve us by wonderful and secret ways.

CHAPTER XIII.

A WIFE IS SOUGHT OUT FOR HIM; HIS MOTHER CANNOT OBTAIN ANY ANSWER FROM GOD CONCERNING THIS INTENDED MARRIAGE.

1. And now earnest endeavours were used for the hastening of my marriage. I was now become a suitor, and the party was already promised to me; my mother chiefly promoting the business, that so my unlawful lusts being reformed by matrimony, I might be cleansed from my sins by the saving water of baptism, for which she was pleased to see that I was daily better and better disposed, and took notice that her prayers and thy promises began to be fulfilled by my faith. Yet when both by my entreaty and her own inclinations she daily importuned thee with a loud cry of her heart, that thou wouldst be pleased to show her by vision something concerning my future marriage, thou never wouldst do it. And she saw some vain and fantastical appearances, the products of her own spirit and imagination vehemently bent upon that subject, and she related them to me; but not with that confidence with which she used, when thou hadst showed her any thing, but rather as slighting them. For she said, she discerned by I know not what kind of relish, which she knew not how to express, the difference between thy revelations and her own dreams. Yet the business was carried on, and a maid was sued to, though not yet marriageable by almost two years, but because I liked the match, I was willing to stay for her.

CHAPTER XIV

A PROPOSAL IS MADE FOR MANY OF THEM LIVING TOGETHER IN COMMON; BUT IT IS FOUND INCONSISTENT WITH A MARRIED LIFE.

1. And many friends of us together had often meditated, discoursing to one another, and detesting the vexatious troubles of a worldly life, and were now almost come to a resolution to quit the noise of the world and live in quiet. Forming to ourselves a scheme for our retirement, that every one should bring in what he had, and one common stock be made of all; where by sincerity of friendship one should not claim this, and the other that; but the whole should belong to every one, and every thing to all. And there were about ten of us that were ready to join in this society, amongst whom some were very rich, especially Romanianus, my fellow townsman, and familiar friend from my childhood, who had come the Emperor's court (then at Milan) upon some troublesome concerns of his own; he was the most earnest upon this business, and having a much better estate than any of the rest, had most power to persuade it. And we had agreed that two of yearly, like magistrates, should take care of all necessaries, the rest being quiet and without trouble. But when we began to consider whether the wives would admit of this, which some of us already had, and I proposed to have, this whole design so well formed, fell in pieces in our hands, and was broken and cast

away. Thence we returned again to sighs and groans, and our steps to follow the broad and beaten paths of this world. For many cogitations were in our hearts, but it is *thy counsel that remaineth for ever.* From this thy counsel thou didst then deride our projects, and didst make way for thy own; ready to *give us food in due season, and to open thy hand, and to fill our souls with thy benediction,* Psalm 144

CHAPTER XV

HIS CONCUBINE LEAVES HIM, AND VOWS CONTINENCY. HE HAS NOT THE COURAGE TO IMITATE HER.

1. In the mean time my sins were still multiplied, and she being removed from my side, (as an impediment to my marriage) whom I formerly accompanied with, my heart which had cleaved to her being now torn away, as it were, from her, was wounded and bled. And she returned to Africa, making a vow to thee, never to know any other man, and leaving with me the natural son I had by her. But unhappy I, not imitating the woman, impatient of delay (it being two years before I was to have her whom I made suit to) because I was not a lover of marriage, but a slave of lust, procured me another, though no wife, to sustain and keep up by the continuance of custom that disease of my soul entire or augmented, till it might arrive at the realm of matrimony. Neither was that wound of mine healed which was made by the cutting off my former concubine, but after the

heat and most acute pains it had caused in me, it putrified, and under a colder pain became a more desperate sore.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FEAR OF DEATH AND THE FUTURE JUDGMENT WAS SOME RESTRAINT TO HIS LUSTS.

1. To thee be praise, and to thee be glory, O Fountain of mercies: I became more miserable, and thou drewest nearer to me, and even just now was thy right hand ready to draw me out of the mire and to wash me clean, and I knew nothing of it. Nor was there any thing that restrained me from sinking still deeper into the pit of carnal pleasures, but the fear of death and of thy judgment to come, which in all the variety of my opinions never quite departed from my breast. And I often reasoned with my friends Alipius and Nebridius, of the ends of the good and the evil; and that Epicurus above all men with me should carry away the prize, but that I believed the soul survived after death, and was treated according to its merits; which Epicurus did not believe.

2. And I asked whether if we were not to die at all, and might live in the perpetual enjoyment of the pleasures of the body without any fear of losing them, whether, I say, this might not be enough to make us happy? Or what else we should want? Not knowing it was a great misery in me that being so deeply

plunged and blind I could not arise my thoughts to the light of virtue, and of that sovereign beauty, which for its own sake is to be embraced, which the eye of the flesh has not seen, but it is discovered in the interior. Neither did I consider, being so miserable, from what vein it flowed, that it was a pleasure to me to confer with my friends about these things, filthy as they were: nor did I even then think that I could be happy without friends, though I were to have ever so great affluence of carnal delight; which friends I loved *gratis*, and perceived that I was also loved by them *gratis*. (*i. e.* without any prospect of interest or corporeal pleasure.)

3. O crooked ways! woe to the audacious soul that vainly hoped to find something better after she had departed from thee! She turned and returned herself on back and sides and belly, and all was hard and uneasy, and thou alone her rest. And lo thou art with us; and dost deliver us from our miserable wanderings; and puttest us into thy way, and encouragest us, saying, run on, I will carry you, and I will bring you to the end of your race, and even there I will continue to carry you.

ST AUGUSTIN'S

CONFESSIONS.

BOOK VII.

CHAPTER I.

HIS ENTRANCE NOW, BEING THIRTY YEARS OLD, INTO MAN'S ESTATE; HE APPREHENDS GOD TO BE INVIOLABLE, INCORRUPTIBLE, IMMUTABLE, AND EVERY WAY INFINITE; BUT YET CORPOREAL.

1 My wicked youth was now dead and gone, and I was entering into the state of manhood; and the older I was, the more shameful was my vanity, which could conceive no substance but such as we usually behold with these our eyes. I did not indeed imagine thee, O my God, to bear the shape of a human body; for from the time I had heard any thing of wisdom I always abhorred that; and I was rejoiced to find that the faith of our spiritual mother thy Catholic Church also abhorred it. But then I was at a loss to know what other idea I was to form of thee. And being a man and such a man I endeavoured to conceive and apprehend thee, the supreme and the only and the true God. And from the bottom of my soul I believed thee to be incorruptible, and inviolable, and immutable; because though I know not how, nor whence, I plainly saw and

was convinced that that which cannot be corrupted, nor hurt, nor changed, is better and more perfect than that which is capable of corruption, or violation, or mutation.

2. My heart strongly cried out against all my phantoms, and with this one effort I strove to drive away from the eyes of my mind the crowd of uncleanness that hovered round me; and it was scarce removed for the twinkling of an eye, before it gathered again upon me, and rushed in upon my sight, and overclouded it; so that though I did not represent to myself the figure of a human body, yet I was still forced to imagine something corporeal through spaces of place infused into the world, or also diffused through infinite spaces beyond the world; yet this same incorruptible, and inviolable, and immutable; which I preferred to that which is corruptible, or violable, or mutable. Because whatsoever I extracted from all such spaces seemed to me to be nothing; yea, not to be at all, not so much as a *vacuum*, as if a body were taken out of a place, and the place should remain void without any body at all in it, either earthly, or watery, or airy, or heavenly, and yet remain an empty place like a spacious nothing.

3. I therefore being dull of heart, and myself not seeing my own self, thought all that to be nothing which was not extended through some space, or spread forth, or had dimension or magnitude; or contained or was capable of containing such things: for such as the forms were

that my eyes were used to behold, such were the images my heart represented. Neither did I reflect that this very application of mind by which I formed these images, was no such thing as they: which yet would not form them if it were not something great. In this manner also I imagined thee, O Life of my Life, to be extended through infinite space, and to penetrate on every side the whole mass of the world, and to be diffused beyond the world on all sides to an immensity without any limit, so that the earth had thee, and the heavens had thee, and all things had thee, and they were bounded in thee, but thou no where

4. And as this body of the air which is above the earth does not hinder the light of the sun from passing through it, penetrating it in such manner as not to break or divide it, but to fill the whole; so I thought that not only the bodies of the Heavens and air, and sea, but of the earth also, were passable to thee, and in all their least as well as greatest parts penetrable to receive every where thy presence, by a secret inspiration both interiorly and exteriorly, administering all things which thou hast created. Such was my notion, because I could conceive nothing else: But this was a false notion; for thus a greater part of the earth would have a greater part of thee, and a lesser would have a lesser part, and in such a manner would all things be full of thee, that the body of an elephant would hold so much more of thee than the body of a sparrow, by how much it is

bigger, and takes up a greater space. And thus thou wouldst be present but by parts to the parts of the world, by bigger pieces of thee to the greater parts of the world, and by lesser to the lesser parts. But thou art not so but as yet thou hadst not enlightened any darkness.

CHAPTER II.

NEBRIDIUS'S ARGUMENT AGAINST THE MANICHÆANS.

1. It was enough for me, O Lord, against those deceived and deceivers (the Manichæans) who talked much and yet were dumb, because thy word did not sound from their mouths; it was enough I say for the confuting of them, which long before, even from the time that we were at Carthage, used to be proposed by Nebridius, and all we that heard it were much moved with it, viz: what that *nation of darkness*, which they talk of, which they make to stand with its malignant bulk opposite to thee, could do to thee, if thou wouldst not have fought with it? For if they would answer that it would have any ways hurt thee, it would follow that thou wert capable of violation and corruption. But if they should say that it could not have done thee any harm, no reason could be given for thy fighting, and fighting in such a manner, that some part of thee, and a member of thine, or an offspring from thy own substance should be mingled with the opposite powers, and those natures

that were not created by thee; and be so far corrupted by them, and change for the worse as to have fallen from happiness to misery, and to stand in need of health to be disengaged and purified: and that our soul should be this part of thy substance; to the aid of which being enslaved, defiled, and corrupted, came thy word that was free, and pure, and sound, which nevertheless was also itself liable to corruption, as being of the same substance. Wherefore if they affirmed thee, whatever thou art, that is, thy substance by which thou existest, to be incorruptible, then all those things were false and execrable; but if corruptible, this very thing at the first hearing, is false and abominable. This then was enough against them to cast off their load from my breast, because they had no way to get out of this dilemma without a horrid sacrilege of the heart and tongue, by thinking such things of thee and speaking them.

CHAPTER III.

HE IS UNSATISFIED CONCERNING THE CAUSE OF EVIL, WHICH IS MAN'S FREE WILL.

1. But although I thus maintained and firmly believed thee our Lord, the true God, (who hast made not only our souls but our bodies also, and not only our souls and bodies, but all persons and all things,) to be incapable of being defiled or altered, or in any part changed; I did not as yet apprehend, clearly

and without scruples, the cause of evil; yet whatever it might be, I saw that in the seeking of it, I was not to look for such a thing as might oblige me to believe the immutable God to be liable to suffer change; lest I myself should become the thing that I sought for. Therefore I sought it so as to be secure and certain that what they (the Manichæans) said was not true; whom I fled from with my whole soul; for I saw that in seeking for the origin of evil, they were themselves filled with evil; because they chose rather to think that thy substance suffered evil than that their own did evil. And I strained hard to see and discern what I had heard that our free will was the cause that we did evil, and thy just judgment that we suffered evil; and I could not clearly see it.

2. I endeavoured to draw forth the sight of my mind from the deep, and I sunk back again, and I often endeavoured it, and still sunk back again and again. What raised me up towards thy light was that I knew that I had a will, as well as I knew that I had a life; therefore when I willed, or willed not any thing, I was very certain that it was not any other thing but myself that willed, or willed not, and that there was the cause of my sin, I was just upon the point of perceiving. And then as to what I did against my will, I saw I rather suffered than did it, and I judged that not to be a fault, but a punishment, with

which, considering thee to be just, I readily confessed that I was not unjustly afflicted

3. But then again I argued, who made me? Was it not my God, who is not only good, but goodness itself? Whence therefore have I this will to evil, and repugnance to good, which gives occasion to that for which I may be justly punished? Who has put this in me, and engrafted in me this plant of bitterness, when all of me was made by my most sweet God? If the devil be the author of it, whence then was the devil? But if he also by his perverse will from a good angel was made a devil, whence came in him this evil will, by which he was made a devil, since the whole angel was made good by the Creator who is all good? By such thoughts as these I was plunged back again and stifled; and yet I sunk not so low as that hell of error, where no one will confess to thee, as to believe thee rather to suffer evil, than man to do it

CHAPTER IV

NOTHING CAN BE CONCEIVED BETTER THAN GOD; AND THEREFORE HE IS CERTAINLY INCORRUPTIBLE.

1. For I strove to find out all the rest in such manner I had already found that what is incorruptible is better than that which is liable to corruption; for which reason I confessed thee, whatever thou wert, to be incorruptible. For never any soul was able or will be able to conceive any thing that is bet-

ter than thee the supreme and most excellent good; since therefore that which is incorruptible is most truly and most certainly preferred to that which is corruptible, as I also then preferred it; if thou wert not incorruptible my thoughts, could have conceived something better than my God. Therefore where I saw that the incorruptible is to be preferred to the corruptible, there I ought to have sought thee, and from thence to take notice, whence evil comes, that is to say, whence courruption itself comes, by which thy substance can by no means be violated

2. For in no way at all does corruption violate our God; by no will, by no necessity, by no unforeseen accident, because he is God; and whatever he wills for himself is good, and he is that same good. But to be corrupted is not good: neither art thou forced to any thing against thy will; for thy will is not greater than thy power; for if it were greater, thou wouldst be greater than thyself. For the will and power of God is God himself. And what can be unforseen to thee who knowest all things; and there is no nature that has a being but because thou knowest it? But what need saying so many things to show that the substance which is God is not corruptible; since if it were so, it would not be God.

CHAPTER V

HE IS STILL IN QUEST AFTER THE ORIGIN OF EVIL. HIS FAITH IN CHRIST AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH DAILY GROWS STRONGER.

1. And I sought from whence evil could come; and I sought evilly; and I did not see the evil that there was in this my search. And I placed before the eyes of my soul the whole creation, both as to the things that we can see, such as the earth, and the sea, and the air, and the stars, and the trees, and all mortal creatures; and also as to the things that we see not, as the firmament of Heaven, and all the Angels and spiritual things thereof; to which also, as if they had been bodies my imagination appointed their several places: and of all together I framed one great mass of thy creation, distinguished by various kinds of bodies, which either were true bodies indeed, or which I had feigned to myself in place of spirits: and this mass I imagined to be very great, not according to what it truly was, which I could not know; but according to my fancy, vastly extended on all sides, but yet finite After this I considered thee, O Lord, as encompassing on all sides, and penetrating this vast mass, but every way infinite: as if the sea were every where, and were on all sides boundless and infinite and should have within it a sponge of great, but finite magnitude; which sponge would be in every part full of the boundless sea: so I conceived the finite

creature to be full of the infinite Creator. And I said behold God, and behold all the things that God hath created; and God is good, and most excellently and incomparably better than any of these things; yet being good he has created good things; and behold how he encompasses and fills all things.

2. Where then is evil, or from whence or what way has it stolen in hither? What is the root of it, and what is its seed? Or is it not at all? Why then do we fear, and fly from that which is not? Or if we vainly fear it, then surely this fear itself is an evil, by which our heart is pricked and tortured without cause; and so much the greater is this evil, by how much the less cause we have to fear a thing that is not. Therefore either there is an evil which we fear, or our very fear is an evil. Whence then is it, since God made all these things, a good God, all things good? he the greater and the sovereign good, made these lesser goods; but yet both the maker and the things made by him, are all good. From whence then is evil? or out of what did God make these things? Was there some matter before that was bad, which he formed and put in order, yet so as to leave something in it, which he did not convert to good? But then why this? Was he not able to convert and change it all, so as to leave no evil in it, he that is Omnipotent? In fine, why would he make any thing at all of it, and not rather by that same omnipotence of his reduce it to no-

thing, or could it ever have a being against his will? Or if it was eternal, why did he for infinite ages suffer it to be in that manner, and after so long a time chose to make something of it?

3. Or if he now on a sudden would be doing something, he that was Omnipotent should rather have employed himself in abolishing that evil matter, that he alone might be the whole, true, and supreme and infinite good. Or if it were not well for him that was good, not to make something of good, he might have quite taken away and annihilated that matter, which was evil, and made another that was good, out of which he might produce all things, for he would not be Omnipotent, if he could not make something that was good without the help of a matter which himself had not made. Such things as these I turned over in my wretched breast, loaded with perplexing cares from the fear of death. And though I had not found out the truth, yet the faith of thy Christ our Lord and Saviour in the Catholic Church, was strongly fixed in my heart; in many things indeed as yet unformed, and floating beside the rule of sound doctrine, but my mind did not forsake it, yea rather daily more and more imbibed it.

CHAPTER VI

HE IS CONVINCED OF THE VANITY OF JUDICIARY ASTROLOGY, PRETENDING TO FORETELL FUTURE EVENTS FROM THE STARS

1. I HAD also now cast away from me the lying divinations, and the impious dotages of the Astrologers. For this also may thy mercies, O my God, from the bottom of my soul confess to thee. For it was thou, it was thou most certainly, that effectedst this. For what other can recal us from the death of any error, but the life that never dies, and the wisdom that enlightens our needy minds, whilst itself needeth no light, by which the whole world is ordered and governed, even to the flying leaves of the trees. It was thou that procurest a remedy for my obstinacy, by which I had before resisted both Vendicianus, an old man of great wit, and Nebridius, a youth of wonderful parts, the one strongly affirming, the other, somewhat doubtfully, yet often repeating, that there was no such art by which men could foretell things to come; but that their conjectures often chanced to hit upon the matter; and that in many things which they said were spoken several things which afterwards came to pass; not that they had a foreknowledge of them, but that they stumbled upon them, by resolving to say something.

2. Thou procuredst me therefore a friend, who was a curious consulter of these astrologers, though himself had no great insight into

that study, who related to me something that he knew from his father, which without reflecting on it, served very much for the overthrow of the vain esteem of that art. This man therefore, by name, Firminus, a person liberally educated and eloquent, having consulted me, as an intimate friend, concerning some affairs of his to which his worldly hopes aspired, what I thought might be the success according to his constellations, as they call them; I who began now to be inclined to Nebridius's opinion, did not refuse to give my conjecture according to what occurred to my doubting mind, but withal told him, that I was now almost convinced, that those things were ridiculous and vain. Upon which he proceeded to tell me how his father had been a most curious searcher into those books, and had a friend no less attached to them than himself; who joining in the same studies, and conferring together, followed those fooleries with so much ardour, as to observe even the moments of the birth, even of dumb creatures, as often as any such were brought forth in their houses; and to set down the positions of the heavens at that time, from which they might take, as it were, some experiments of that art. And he said, he had heard from his father, than when his mother was big with child of the same Firminus, a certain maid-servant of his friend's was was also big with child, which could not but be observed by her master, who was so solicitous to examine even into the puppying of his

bitches. And so it happened that as they most exactly counted, the one, the days, hours, and minutes of his wife's, the other of his servant's being brought to bed, both were delivered at the same instant, so that they were forced to set down the same calculations of the stars to a minute, the one for his son, the other for his servant; for as soon as the women fell in labour they gave mutual notice, and had one ready to send to each other as soon as the child was born, which they took care to be informed of at that very instant; and he said, that they that were sent met so justly in the midway, that neither of them could possibly observe any position of the stars or moment of time different from the other. And yet Firminus, being honourably descended, prospered in this world, increased in wealth, was advanced in dignities; but the servant, having the yoke of his condition no way eased, continued in his servile state, as he told me, who very well knew him.

3. Having heard this, and believed it, as coming from such a man, all my former reluctance was now quite overcome. And first, I endeavoured to disengage Firminus himself from this curiosity, telling him, that from the inspection of his constellations, if in them I were to discover the truth, I must find that his parents were of the first rank, his family noble in the city where they lived, his birth and education honourable, and his studies ingenuous. But if afterwards the servant should consult

me concerning the same constellations, which were likewise his; to tell him the truth also, I must discover in them a most abject family, a servile condition, and all other things far differing and quite opposite to the former. So that from the same aspect of the stars, I must gather two most opposite fortunes to tell the truth? Or if I were to read therein the same fortune, I must say what was false. And hence I gathered for certain, that what was spoken true from the observation of such constellations, was by guess and not by art; and what was spoken false was not from any unskilfulness in the art, but from the error of the guess.

4. Having taken occasion from hence of further consideration of these things, lest any of these vain men, who live by this trade (whom I now much desired to attack and render ridiculous) should reply that what Firminus had related to me, or his father to him, was an untruth. I reflected on those who are born twins, who commonly come so quickly into the world one after the other, that the small interval of time (whatever effect they pretend it may have in nature) cannot be collected by human observation, or expressed in the composition of any figure, out of which the astrologer is to make his prognostication. His predictions therefore either cannot be true, if from perusing the same figure, he should say the same things, (for example of Esau and Jacob, to whom the same things did not hap-

pen) or if true, he must not say the same of both, though their horoscope be the same Therefore it must be by chance, and not by art, that he speaketh truth. For thou, O Lord, the most just Ruler of the Universe, when neither the consulter nor the consulted know any thing of it, by a sacred instinct orderest matters so, that he that consulteth should hear what is fit he should hear, according to the hidden merits of souls, from the abyss of thy just judgment; to whom let not man say, what is this, or to what end is this? Let him not say it, for he is but man.

CHAPTER VII

HE IS STILL PERPLEXED ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF EVIL

1. THOU hast therefore now freed me from those bonds; and I was still seeking from whence was evil, and could find no way to account for it. Yet thou didst not suffer me by any of those waves of my thoughts to be carried away from that Faith, by which I believed both thy being, and that thy substance was immutable, and that thou hadst a providence over us, and that there was a judgment to come; and that in Christ thy Son our Lord, and in the holy Scriptures, which the authority of the Catholic Church recommended to us, thou hast appointed a way for man's salvation, in order to that life which is to come after this death. These points therefore being safe, and strongly settled in my mind, I inquired anx-

iously whence evil could be? What pangs did my heart then suffer in this labour? What groans did it send forth, O my God? And thy ears were there, and I knew it not. And when in silence I earnestly sought the secret anguish of my soul was a loud cry to thy mercy.

2. Thou knowest what I then suffered, and not any man. For how small a part was it which passed from my heart to my tongue, and so to the ears of my most intimate friends. Not the whole tumult of my soul, for the expressing of which neither my time nor my tongue was sufficient. But all was heard by thee, which *I roared out from the groaning of my heart*, Psalm 37. *And my desire was before thee; and the light of my eyes was not with me* For it was within, and I was abroad: and it was not in place, and I was only intent upon things contained in place: and I found there no place for my rest: neither did these things receive me so, that I could say, *'tis enough*, and *it is well;* nor did they let me return thither where it might be with me *well enough*. For I was superior to them, but inferior to thee; and thou wast the true joy to me thy subject; and thou hast made subject to me the things which thou hast created below me.

3. And this was the right temperament, and the middle region of my well-being, that I should remain according to thy image, and serving thee, should have the command of the body. But when I proudly rose up against

thee, and ran against my Lord and master, with the shield of a stiff neck, even these lowest of things got above me, and pressed me down, and I could take neither ease nor breath These bodies offered themselves in crowds on all sides to my eyes, and their images to my thoughts; these way-laid me and opposed my return to thee, as if they had said, whither art thou going so unworthy and filthy as thou art? And these had grown from my wound, *because thou hast humbled the proud like him that is wounded*, Psalm 88, and by the swelling of my pride I was separated from thee, and my face that was swelled exceedingly shut up my eyes.

CHAPTER VIII.

HE ACKNOWLEDGES THE MERCY OF GOD WHICH CAME IN TO HIS SUCCOUR

But thou, O Lord, remainest for ever, and art not for ever angry with us; for thou hast had compassion upon this dirt and ashes; and it seemed good in thy sight to reform my deformities; and with secret goads thou didst stir me up, that I might be uneasy, until thou wast by a more inward sight clearly discovered to me. And my swelling [of pride] abated by the secret touch of thy healing hand; and the sight of my soul, which was troubled and darkened, by the help of the sharp eye-salve of my inward pains, advanced daily towards a cure.

CHAPTER IX

HE LIGHTS UPON SOME BOOKS OF THE PLATONIC PHILOSOPHERS, IN WHICH HE FINDS A GREAT DEAL CONCERNING THE DIVINITY OF THE ETERNAL WORD, BUT NOTHING OF THE HUMILITY OF HIS INCARNATION.

1 And first to show me how *thou resistest the proud and givest grace to the humble*, and how great a mercy of thine it was that the way of humility was demonstrated to men, by thy Word's being made flesh and dwelling amongst men: thou procuredst me by the means of a man that was much puffed up with the conceit of his own science, some books of the Platonics, which had been translated out of Greek into Latin, And in these I read not indeed in the same words, but the very same thing, and that confirmed with great variety of reasons. That *in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made. In him was Life, and the Life was the Light of men. And the Light shineth in Darkness, and the Darkness comprehendeth it not*, St. John, 1. And that the soul of man, though *it bear testimony of the Light, yet is not itself the Light*, but the Word of God is it. For God is the *true Light, that enlighteneth every man coming into the world. And that he was in this world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him*

not. But that he came unto his own, and his own received him not; but as many as received him, to them he gave power to become the Sons of God, believing in his name; I did not find there.

2. Again, I read there that *God the Word was born not of Flesh, not of Blood, not of the Will of Man, neither of the Will of the Flesh, but of God.* But that *this Word was made flesh and dwelt among us,* I did not read there For I discovered in those books, and that frequently repeated, and divers ways expressed, that the Son is *in the form of the Father, and thinks it no robbery to be equal with God,* Phil. 2, because he naturally is the same thing. But then, *that he emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, and found in fashion as a man; and humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross. Wherefore God hath exalted him from the dead, and given him a name which is above every name; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in Heaven, and things on Earth, and things in Hell, and every tongue should confess, that the Lord Jesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father;* these books do not say.

3. For that thy only begotten Son before all times, remains unchangeably co-eternal to thee: and that from his fullness souls receive, that they may be happy, and by the participation of his self-subsisting wisdom, are renewed, that they may be wise, is to be found there

But that *according to time he died for the wicked*, Rom. 5, *and that thou didst not spare thy only Son, but gavest him up for us all*, Rom. 8, is not to be found there. *For thou hast hidden these things from the wise, and hast revealea them to little ones; that they might come unto him that laboured and were heavy burthened, ana that he might refresh them, because he is meek and humble of heart*, St. Matt. 11. *And the meek he guideth in judgment, and to the mild he teacheth his ways, seeing our humility and our labour, and forgiving all our sins*, Psalm 24 But they who are raised up on high, as it were, upon the buskins of more lofty knowledge, do not hear him when he says *Learn of me, for I am meek and humble of heart, and you shall find rest for your souls*, St. Matt. 11. *And if they know God, do not glorify him as God; or give him thanks, but vanish away (or become vain) in their thoughts, and their foolish heart is darkened, ond saying that they are wise, they become fools*, Rom. 1.

4 And therefore I there also read *the glory of tny Incorruptibleness changed into Idols*, and variety of forms, *into the likeness of a corruptible man, and of birds, and of four-footed beasts, and of serpents*, Rom. 1. Egyptian food, by which Esau lost his right of first-born; for thy first-born people (the Israelites) honoured the head of a beast instead of thee, turning back with their hearts into Egypt, and bowing down heir soul which were thy image, before the image of a calf that eateth grass These things

I found in those books, but did not feed upon them. For thou wast pleased O Lord, to take away the reproach of being the younger from *Jacob, that the elder might serve the younger; and thou hast called the Gentiles into thy inheritance.*

5. And I came to thee from the Gentiles, and was intent upon the gold (*i. e.* the good that was in those books) which thou wast pleased to appoint that thy people should carry away from Egypt, for it was thine wherever it was. And thou didst say to the Athenians by thy apostle, Acts 17, *That in thee we live, and move, and have our being; as some of their own (heathen writers) had said:* and from thence indeed were those books. And I did not regard the idols of the Egyptians, which they served with thy gold, *who changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator*, Rom. 1

CHAPTER X.

HE NOW MORE CLEARLY DISCOVERS DIVINE MATTERS, AND THAT GOD IS INCORPOREAL

1. And being there admonished to return to myself, I entered into my interior, thou being my guide; and I was able to do it, for thou wast my helper. I entered in, and I saw with the eye of my soul, such as it was above that same eye of my soul, above my mind, the unchangeable light of the Lord; not this common light which is visible to all flesh, nor any

greater in the same kind, as if this should be much more clear and bright, and with its greatness fill the whole universe; it was not such a light as this, but quite another thing, very different from all these things. Neither was it in such manner above my mind, as oil is above water, or Heaven above the Earth; but it was superior, because it made me, and I inferior, because I was made by it. He that knoweth the truth knoweth this light, and he that knoweth it knoweth eternity. And it is Charity that knoweth it.

2. O eternal truth, and true Charity, and lovely Eternity! Thou art my God, for thee I sigh day and night. And when I first began to know thee, thou liftedst me up, that I might see that there was something to be seen, but that I was not yet one that could see it. And thou didst strike back the weakness to my sight, shining upon me with an excessive brightness, and I trembled all over with love and fear, and I found that I was at a vast distance from thee, in the land of unlikeness, as if I heard thy voice from on high, "I am the meat of those that are grown up; grow thou up and thou shalt feed upon me, neither shalt thou convert me into thee, like thy corporeal food; but thou shalt be changed into me." And I knew that it was *by reason of iniquity that thou hast corrected man, and hast made my soul to consume like a spider*, Psalm 38

3. And I said, is the truth then nothing, because it is not spread by extension through any

spaces of place finite or infinite? And thou criedst out to me, from afar off, yes surely, *I am who am*, Exod. 3. And I heard this after the manner of the hearing of the heart; and there was no room left for doubt. And I could with more ease call in question my own being alive, than the being of the *truth*, which is clearly *seen, being understood by the things that are made*, Rom. 1.

CHAPTER XI

THAT CREATED THINGS MAY BE SAID IN SOME SENSE TO HAVE A BEING, AND IN ANOTHER SENSE TO HAVE NONE.

1. And I looked into the rest of things that are below thee; and I saw that they neither altogether had a being, nor altogether had no being. That they had a being indeed because they are from thee; and that they had no being because they are not what thou art; for that truly is, which unchangeable remains. But *'tis good for me to adhere to God*, Psalm 72. For if I remain not in him, neither can I in myself; but he *remaining in himself maketh all things new*, Wisdom 7. And *thou art the Lord my God, for thou standest not in need of my goods*, Psalm 15.

CHAPTER XII

THAT ALL NATURE'S, EVEN THE CORRUPTIBLE, ARE GOOD, THOUGH NOT THE SUPREME GOOD.

1. And it became clear to me that those things also are good which are liable to corruption, which indeed could not be corrupted if they were the supreme good, nor again be liable to corruption, if they were not good; for if they were the supreme good, they would be incorruptible; and if they were not good at all, there would be nothing in them to be corrupted. For corruption doth some hurt to things, which it would not do if it did not diminish some good in them. Either therefore corruption hurteth them not all, which cannot be said, or (which indeed is most certain) all those things that corrupt are deprived of some good. But if they are deprived of all good, they will no longer be at all; for if they have a being still, and cannot now be corrupted, they will be better than they were, because they will subsist incorruptibly. And what can be more monstrously absurd than to say that things become better, when they have lost all that was good in them. Therefore if they be deprived of all good, they will be nothing at all. Therefore as long as they have a being they are good. Therefore all things that have a being are good; and that evil the origin of which I have been so long seeking for, is no substance. For if it were a substance it would be good; for it would either be an incorrupti-

ble substance, a great good indeed; or it would be a corruptible substance, which if it were not good could not be corrupted. Thus I say, and it was most manifest to me, that thou hast made all things good; and that there is no substance at all which thou didst not make. And because thou hast not made all things equal, therefore all things taken severally good, and *all things together are very good*, because thou our *God hast made all things very good*, Gen. 1.

CHAPTER XIII

THAT THERE IS NOTHING IN THE CREATION ABSOLUTELY EVIL.

1. And to thee there is not any evil at all, and as there is none to thee, so neither is there any to thy whole Creation; because there is not any thing without thee, that can break in and corrupt the order thou hast established in it. But in the parts thereof there are some things, which because they are inconvenient to some other things, are esteemed evil; and yet these same are convenient to other things, and consequently good, and in themselves are good. And all these things, which are not convenient to one another, are most proper and convenient to this lower part of nature which we call the Earth, which has its Heaven around it, cloudy indeed and stormy, yet proper for it.

2. And far be it from me to say that I wish these things were not; for although, if I should

see these things alone, I should wish for things better, yet were there no other things I still ought to praise thee for these. *Because from the Earth show forth thy praise the Dragons and all the deeps; fire, hail, snow, ice, and the stormy winds which fulfil thy word; the mountains and all the hills: fruit-bearing trees and all cedars: beasts and all cattle, creeping things and flying fowls: the kings of the earth and all people, princes and all judges of the earth, young men and virgins, old men with the younger, let them all praise thy name*, Psalm 148. But as from the Heavens also thy praises are published, *let all the Angels praise thee, our God on high, and all thy powers, the Sun and Moon, all the Stars and light, the Heavens of Heavens, and the waters that are above the Heavens, let them praise thy name*, Psalm 148. I now could not wish for any better things, when I thought of all together; and although by a sound judgment I looked upon those higher things as better than these below, yet I was no less convinced that both together were better than the higher alone.

CHAPTER XIV

THAT TO SOUND REASON NOT ONE OF THE WORKS OF GOD CAN APPEAR OTHERWISE THAN GOOD

1. THERE is no soundness in them who are displeased with any thing of thy creation, as in me there was none, when many things displeased me which thou hadst made. And be-

cause my soul did not dare to be displeased with my God, she would not have that which displeased her to be thy work. And hence she went into the opinion of two opposite substances; and she found no rest there, and she spoke things wide from the truth. And returning from thence she had made to herself a God extended through infinite spaces of all places, and took him for thee, and him she placed in her heart, and again was become the temple of an idol of her own making, abominable in thy sight. But after that thou hadst applied thy cure to my head, when I knew it not, and hadst shut my eyes *that they might not see vanity*, Psalm 188. I got out of myself a little, and my frenzy was removed, and I awakened to behold thee, and I saw thee infinite in quite another manner, and this sight was not drawn from the flesh

CHAPTER XV.

THAT ALL THINGS HAVE THEIR BEING FROM GOD; THAT THERE IS A TRUTH IN ALL THINGS; AND THAT ALL TIMES ARE OF GOD'S CREATION.

And I cast my eye upon other things, and I saw that they owed their being to thee, and that in thee they all had their bounds; yet not in such manner as to be circumscribed by thee as by a place; but because thou holdest them all by thy hand thy truth. And all things insomuch as they have a being are true; neither is falsity any thing else, but when that is

thought to be which is not. And I saw that all things are not only suitable and agreeing to their proper places, but also to their proper times. And that thou, who alone art eternal, didst not begin to work after innumerable spaces of time were run out; because no spaces of time either have passed or shall pass, either have gone or come, but what is thy work, who abidest always the same.

CHAPTER XVI

THAT THINGS WHICH ARE EVIL RELATIVELY TO SOME OTHER THINGS, HAVE NEVERTHELESS THEIR GOOD IN THEM; AND THAT SIN IS NO SUBSTANCE, BUT THE PERVERSITY OF OUR FREE-WILL.

And I perceived and experienced that it was no wonder that bread which is agreeable to a sound palate, was disagreeable to the diseased; and light which is amiable to clear eyes, was grievous to weak ones. And thy justice itself displeases the wicked, how much more may a viper or a worm, which nevertheless thou hast created good, and befitting their rank in these lower parts of thy creation? For which lower regions sinners themselves also are so much the more fit by how much the more unlike they are to thee; but so much the more fit for the regions above, by how much the more they become like to thee. And I sought what this evil of sin was; and I found it not to be a substance, but the perversity of the will turning away from thee, O God, the sovereign sub-

stance, to the lowest of things casting forth what was most inward to her, and swelling outwardly.

CHAPTER XVII.

THAT HE BEGAN NOW TO HAVE A TRUE NOTION OF THE DIVINITY.

1. And I wondered that I now loved thee, and not a phantom instead of thee. And I did not stand still to enjoy my God; but I was one while strongly drawn to thee by thy beauty, and then presently hurried away from thee by my own weight; and I fell down not without sighs amongst these things below thee, and this weight was my carnal custom. But I lost not the remembrance of thee, neither did I in the least doubt that there was one most worthy to be adhered to, but I was not as yet in that state, in which I could adhere to him. *For the body which is corrupted weigheth down the soul, and the earthly dwelling presseth down the mind which museth on many things*, Wisdom 9. And I was now most certain that *thy invisible things from the creation of the World are clearly discovered, being understood by the things that are made, even thy eternal Power and Godhead*, Rom. 1.

2. For seeking whence it was that I approved of the beauty of bodies, whether heavenly or earthly; and what was present to my mind, when I made a right judgment concerning changeable things, and said, *this ought to be so*,

and that should not be so: seeking, I say, from what it was that I made this judgment, when I so judged, I had found that there was above my changeable mind the unchangeable and true eternity of truth. And I ascended, as it were, by steps from bodies to the soul, which is the principle of sensation in the body; then to the more inward power thereof, to which the bodily senses bring in their informations concerning external objects, as far as the knowledge of beasts reacheth to; and from thence again to the reasoning faculty, to which the things received through the avenues of the senses are referred, to be considered and judged of. Which rational faculty in me well perceiving itself also to be changeable, got up in the highest turret of its understanding, and abstracted its thought from accustomed objects, and withdrew from the crowd of contracting phantoms, that so it might find what that light was by which it was enlightened, when without the least doubt it cried out, that *the unchangeable is to be preferred before the changeable;* (from whence also it had a notion of something unchangeable, which if it had some knowledge of, it could not so certainly have preferred it before that which is changeable) and so might come to that which is discerned only in the twinkling glance of a trembling sight. Then it was that I discerned in my understanding *thy invisible things understood by the things which are made.* But I could not fix my eye; and my weakness being beat back, and

relapsing to accustomed objects, I carried nothing away with me, but only a memory enamoured with thee, and longing after that which I had, as it were, smelt at, but was not yet able to feed upon.

CHAPTER XVIII

OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST IS THE ONLY WAY TO SALVATION.

And I sought for the way by which I might acquire so much strength as might enable me to enjoy thee; and I found not any, till I embraced the *Mediator of God and Man, the Man Christ Jesus*, 1 Tim. 2, who *is above all, God blessed for ever*, Rom. 9, calling unto me, and saying, St. John 14. *I am the Way, and the Truth, and the Life;* and mingling with our flesh that food which I was not strong enough to take: for the Word was made Flesh, St. John 1, that thy wisdom, by which thou hast created all things, might become milk for our infancy. For I did not then as yet apprehend my Lord Jesus Christ as I ought, humbly embracing my humble Saviour; neither did I know the lesson which he came to teach me by his weakness. For thy word, the eternal truth, which is super-eminent above the most eminent parts of thy creation, raiseth up to himself those that are subject to him; and in these lower regions has made to himself an humble house of our clay, by which he might cast down from themselves such as would be-

come his subjects, and bring them over to himself, healing them of the swelling of pride, and nourishing their love: to the end they might not offer to go farther by self-confidence, but rather become weak in their own eyes, seeing before their feet the Divinity made weak by the participation of our coat of skin, and being wearied might cast themselves down upon him, that so he arising might raise them up.

CHAPTER XIX

HIS ERRORS CONCERNING CHRIST.

1. BUT I at that time imagined quite another thing, and esteemed my Lord Jesus Christ only as a man of excellent wisdom, and no way to be equalled; more particularly, because being wonderfully born of a Virgin, he seemed to have attained to that great authority of mastership, by the divine care over us, to give us an example of despising temporal things for the obtaining of a happy immortality. But I could not in the least apprehend the meaning of the mystery of the word's being made flesh. Only I knew from what was written of his eating, drinking, sleeping, walking, rejoicing, grieving, discoursing, &c., that this flesh was not so united to thy word, as to be void of a human soul and a mind. And every one must know this, who knows that thy word is unchangeable, as I then knew it, and without any question believed it. For to move sometimes by the will the parts of the body, at other times

not to move them; sometimes to be affected one way, at other times another; sometimes by outward signs to give out wise sentences, at other times to be in silence, are the properties of the mutability of the soul and the mind. Which if they had been untruly written of him, all the rest might in like manner be untrue; neither would there remain in those writings any health of Faith for the salvation of mankind.

2. But as they are written, and written with truth, I acknowledged in Christ the whole man, and not only the body of a man, nor with the body of a soul without the mind: but this man I thought was to be preferred before all others, not from being the person of Truth, but from a certain exceeding great excellence of his human nature, and a more perfect participation of the Divine Wisdom. But Alipius imagined, that the Catholics believed God to be clothed with flesh in such manner, as not to acknowledge in Christ besides the Godhead and human flesh, any soul or mind of a man: and because he was fully persuaded, that the things recorded of him could not be performed but by a living and rational creature, this made him more slack in embracing the christian faith. But afterwards finding that this was the condemned error of the Apolinarian heretics, he much congratulated with and readily entertained the Catholic Belief. And for myself, I own it was not till some time after, that I learnt to distinguish in the Word's being made

Flesh, between the error of Photinus and the Catholic Truth. For the condemning of heretics makes the tenets of the Church and its sound doctrine more illustrious and better known. *For Heresies are to be, that they who are approved may be made manifest among the weak*, 1. Cor. ii.

CHAPTER XX

THE WRITINGS OF THE PLATONIC PHILOSOPHERS, THOUGH THEY INFORMED HIM OF MANY DIVINE TRUTHS, BRED PRIDE IN HIM, AND NOT HUMILITY.

But then having read those books of the Platonics, and being thereby instructed to seek after an incorporeal truth, I beheld thy invisible things, understood by the things which are made; and though struck back, had a perception of that, which by reason of the darkness of my soul, I could not more fully contemplate. Being thus far assured that thou art, and art infinite, yet without any extension of thyself either through finite or infinite space; and that thou, art truly, who always art the very same, in no part and by no motion alterable or changeable; and that all other things are from thee, by this one most certain argument, because they have a being. These things I was then assured of, and yet was too weak to enjoy thee. And I talked vainly as one that had knowledge, whereas if I had not sought out the way to thee, which is in Christ our Saviour, I should have been lost with all this

knowledge. For now I began to have a mind to seem wise, full of my punishment, and I bewailed not my misery, but was *puffed up with science*, 1. Cor. 8. But where was all this while that edifying charity, raised upon the foundation of humility, which is Christ Jesus? Or when could those books have taught me this? Which writings thou wast pleased, I believe, I should meet with, before I studied thy Scriptures, that it might be imprinted in my memory in what manner I had been affected by them; and that when afterwards I had been humbled in thy books, and my wounds had been dressed by thy healing hands, I might well discern and distinguish the difference between proud presumption and humble confession; between those that saw the place they were to go to, but did not see the way to it, and that *way* itself, that leadeth not only to the seeing, but to the inhabiting of that blessed country. For if I had first been instructed in thy sacred books, and in the familiar use of them, thou hadst become sweet to me, and I had afterwards happened to light on those other writings, they might perhaps either have taken me off from the foundation of piety; or if I continued steadfast in the wholesome affections I had imbibed from thence, yet I might have thought that those other books, if one had read them alone, might have produced the like affections.

CHAPTER XXI

HE BETAKES HIMSELF TO THE READING OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, ESPECIALLY ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES; AND WITH WHAT FRUIT.

1. THEREFORE with great eagerness of mind I betook myself to the venerable style of thy Spirit, and above the rest to the Apostle Paul. And those scruples vanished wherein his discourse had formerly seemed to me to contradict itself, and not to agree with the testimonies of the Law and the Prophets. And now it appeared to me one uniform piece of chaste and pure doctrine, and I learnt therein to rejoice with trembling. And I tried, and I found that whatever I had read of truth in those other books was here said also, but with the recommendation of thy grace; that he that sees *should not glory as if he had not received;* not only that which he sees, but also his very seeing: *for what hath he that he hath not received?* 1 Cor. 4. And that by thee, who art always the same, he must not only be admonished, that he may see, but also healed that he may possess. And that he who from afar off cannot see, must however walk in the way by which he may come to see and possess. Because though a man *be delighted with the Law of God according to the inward man*, yet what shall he do as to the *other law in his members, warring against the law of his mind, and leading him away captive in the law of sin which is in his members*, Rom. 7. *For thou art just, O Lord*

but we have sinned, and done wickedly, and behaved ourselves impiously, Dan. 9, and thy hand has fallen heavy upon us; and we have been justly delivered over to that old sinner the governor of death; because he persuaded our will to become like to his will, which stood not in thy truth.

2. What now shall wretched man do? Who shall deliver him from the body of this death, but thy grace through Jesus Christ our Lord? Rom. 7, whom thou hast begotten co-eternal to thyself, and created in the beginning of thy ways, Prov. 8. In whom the Prince of this world found nothing worthy of death, and yet slew him; and so the hand-writing was cancelled that was against us, Col. 2. Those other books have nothing of this. Those writings have not the countenance of this piety, the tears of confession, thy sacrifice, a troubled spirit, a contrite and humbled heart, Psalm 50 Nothing of the salvation of the people; nothing of the heavenly city, the bride of the Lamb; nothing of the earnest of the spirit, nor of the cup of our redemption. No one there sings, shall not my soul be subject to the Lord, for from him is my salvation? For he is my God and my Saviour, my Protector, no more shall I be moved, Psalm 61. No one there hears him calling, Come to me you that labour, St. Matt. 11, for they disdain to learn of him, because he is meek and humble of heart. For thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them to little

ones. And 'tis one thing from a woody eminence to see at a distance the happy country of peace, and not to find any way to it; and to make vain efforts towards it through places unpassable· besieged on every side and waylaid by fugitive deserters, with their Prince the Lion and the Dragon. And 'tis another thing to possess the way that conducteth thither [viz. the humility of Jesus Christ] safe guarded by the care of our heavenly Emperor, where the deserters of the celestial militia presume not to rob; for they shun it as a punishment. These things, by wonderful ways, were imprinted in my soul, whilst I was reading the least of thy Apostles, 1 Cor. 15. And I considered thy works, and I was struck with fear.

ST. AUGUSTIN'S

CONFESSIONS.

BOOK VIII.

CHAPTER I

HE TAKES A RESOLUTION TO CONSULT THE HOLY PRIEST SIMPLICIANUS ABOUT THE FUTURE ORDERING OF HIS LIFE, REMAINING STILL PASSIONATELY BENT ON MARRIAGE.

1. O MY God, let me remember in thy sight, with thanksgiving, and confess thy mercies upon me: let my bones be pierced with thy love, and let them say, O Lord, who is like to thee? Thou hast broken my bonds asunder, I will sacrifice to thee the sacrifice of praise, Psalm 115. I will now relate in what manner thou didst break them; and all that worship thee, hearing it shall say, blessed be the Lord in Heaven and on Earth, great and wonderful is his name. Thy words stuck fast in my breast, and thou didst encompass me on every side. Of thy life eternal I was very certain, though I had only seen it in a dark manner, and as it were through a glass; however, I had no doubt at all of thy incorruptible substance, from which all substances have their being; neither did I wish to be more certain of

thee, but to be better fixed in thee. But as to my temporal life all was unsettled, and my heart was yet to be cleansed from the old leaven; and the way, which is our Saviour himself, pleased me, but I had not the heart to venture as yet upon so strait a path.

2. And thou didst put it into my mind, and it seemed good to me to go to Simplicianus, who appeared to me to be a good servant of thine, and thy grace shone in him. And I had heard that from his youth he had most devoutly served thee; and now he was grown old, and I thought that in so long a time spent in thy service, he must have experienced many things, and learned many things; and so it was with him. Whereupon I had a mind to lay open to him my uneasinesses, that he should direct me what course of life was fittest for one so affected as I then was to walk in thy way. For I saw the Church full; and in it some followed one course of life, and some another. And I was displeased with the business I followed in the world, and it was become very burthensome to me; my former desires not now inflaming me, as they were accustomed, to bear that heavy servitude in hopes of honour and riches. For now these things did not yield me any delight, in comparison of thy sweetness, and the beauty of thy house, with which I was in love. But my passion for a woman still kept fast hold of me: neither did the Apostle prohibit the marriage, though he exhorted me to what was better, much wishing

that all men were even as he himself was, 1 Cor. 7.

3. But I that was weaker was for chusing an easy state: and upon this one account I was kept low in other things, languishing and pining away with consumptive cares, being forced to conform to those things which I was otherwise unwilling to suffer, for the sake of a conjugal life, to which I had so strong an inclination. I had heard from the mouth of truth, St. Matt. 19, that there were eunuchs who had made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of Heaven. But then he said, he that can receive it, let him receive it.

4. Those men are certainly all vain, who have not the knowledge of God in them, and who cannot from these things, which are good, find out that is, Wisdom 13. But I was not now under that vanity, but had got beyond it, and by the testimony of thy whole creation, had found out thee our Creator, and thy word God with thee, and with thee and the Holy Ghost one God, by which thou createdst all things. And there is another kind of wicked ones, who, knowing God, have not glorified him as God, nor given him thanks, and into this kind also I had fallen; but thy right hand, O God, received me, and took me away from thence, and placed me where I might recover. For thou hast said to man, behold godliness is wisdom: and again, don't desire to seem wise: for they that say, that they are wise, are become fools, Rom. 1. And I had now found

out that good pearl, St. Matt. 13, which was to be bought by selling all that I had; and I demurred upon it.

CHAPTER II

SIMPLICIANUS RELATES THE STORY OF THE CONVERSION OF VICTORINUS, THE FAMOUS ROMAN ORATOR.

1. To Simplicianus therefore I went, * the spiritual father in receiving thy grace to Ambrose then bishop, and as a father he was loved by him. To him I related all the circuits and windings of my errors. And when I told him that I had read certain books of the Platonics, which had been translated into Latin by Victorinus, formerly professor of rhetoric in Rome, who, as I had heard, died a christian; he congratulated with me, that I lighted not on the writings of other philosophers, full of fallacies and lies, according to the elements of this world: but rather on these in which God and his word were by all means insinuated. And then to exhort me to the humility of Christ, which is hidden from the wise and revealed to little ones, he took occasion to speak of this same Victorinus, with whom, when he lived at Rome, he was intimately acquainted, and told me something of him, which I will not

* He calls Simplicianus the spiritual father of St. Ambrose, in respect to his baptism. This Simplicianus was sent from Rome by Pope Damasus to Milan, to be an instructor and director of St. Ambrose, and he afterwards succeeded him in the Bishoprick. See St. Augustin's Retract. 1. 2, c. 1

pass over in silence, because it contains great matter of praise and glory to thy grace, which ought to be confessed to thee.

2. He related therefore how this most learned old man, and most expert in all the liberal sciences, who had read, and examined and explained so many of the works of the philosophers, who had taught so many noble senators, and who for a monument of his eminency in his way, had deserved and obtained an honour highly prized by the citizens of this world, viz. of having his statue set up in the Roman Forum; having been to that age a worshipper of idols, and a partaker of their sacrilegious rites, as almost all the nobility of Rome was at that time, and the people also honouring a monstrous race of all kinds of Gods and the barking Anubis, who had formerly stood in arms against Neptune, and Venus, and Minerva, so that Rome then worshipped the deities which she had formerly conquered; and having for so many years defended these things with all his eloquence; he related, I say, in what manner this old man, after all, was not ashamed to become a child of thy Christ, and an infant at thy font, submitting his neck to the yoke of thy humility, and his forehead to the reproach of the Cross.

3. O Lord, Lord, who bowedst the Heavens, and didst come down, who didst touch the mountains, and they smoked, Psalm 143, by what ways didst thou insinuate thyself into that breast? He read, as Simplicianus said, the

holy Scripture, and he most diligently sought out and examined the Christian writings: and he said to Simplicianus, not publicly, but secretly as to a friend, know that I am now a Christian, who answered, I will not believe it, nor esteem you as one of us, till I see you in the Church of Christ: and he jested at him, saying, do the walls then make people Christians? and he would be often saying, that now he was a Christian; and Simplicianus as often would be making the same reply; to which he always returned the jest of the walls. For he was afraid of offending his friends (the Roman Senators) those proud worshippers of devils, from the high top of whose Babylonish dignity, as from the cedars of Libanus, which the Lord had not yet broken in pieces, he apprehended great storms of malice would fall upon him.

4. But after that, by much reading and meditating, he gained strength, and began to fear being denied by Christ before the holy Angels, if he was afraid to confess him before men, and appeared to himself guilty of a great crime in being ashamed of the Sacrament of the humility of thy word, whereas he had not been ashamed of the sacrilegious rites of proud devils, of which he had been a partaker, imitating them in their pride; he flung off that shame of vanity, and was ashamed not to follow truth: and all on a sudden and unexpectedly he said to *Simplicianus*, as he told me, let us go to the Church. I will be made a

Christian. And, he being transported with joy, accompanied him thither. Where when he had been initiated in the first instructions, he not long after gave in his name, that he might be regenetrated by baptism; to the admiration of *Rome* and the joy of the Church. The proud saw and were angry, they gnashed their teeth and pined away, Psalm 111. But as for thy servant, the Lord God was his hope, and he regarded not vanities and lying follies, Psalm 39.

5. Lastly, when the time came of making the profession of his faith, which profession is wont to be made at *Rome* by those, who are about to receive the grace of thy baptism, in a set form of words learnt by heart, from a higher place before all the faithful; he said it was offered by the Priests to *Victorinus*, that he should perform it more privately, as the custom was to indulge this to some, who through bashfulness were afraid of doing it so publicly: but that he rather chose to profess the faith of his salvation in the presence of all the holy congregation. For what he taught in his profession of rhetoric was no matter of salvation, and yet this he had publicly professed. How much less then ought he to fear thy meek flock in pronouncing thy word, who was not afraid, in delivering his own words, before whole crowds of worldlings?

6. As soon therefore as he went up to make his profession, every one that knew him (and

who was there that did not know him?) repeated his name to his next neighbour with joy and congratulation: and in the joyful mouths of all was heard with a low sound, *Victorinus*, *Victorinus*. They suddenly made this noise through the joy of seeing him, and as quickly were silent again, that they might attend to hear him. He pronounced the true faith with a wonderful confidence, and all that were there were desirous to take him into their hearts: there they placed him by love and joy: these were the hands with which they embraced him.

CHAPTER III

WHY THERE IS MORE JOY FOR MEN THAT ARE CONVERTED THAN IF THEY HAD ALWAYS PROFESSED THE TRUE FAITH.

1. Good God! how comes it to pass in man, that he rejoiceth more for the safety of a soul that was despaired of, or that is delivered out of a greater danger than if he had always had hopes, or if the danger had been less? For thou also, our most merciful Father, rejoicest more over one penitent than over ninety-nine just, who need no penance, St. Luke 15. And it is with great delight we hear it, as often as we hear in thy word, with how much joy the shepherd brought home on his shoulders the sheep that was gone astray; and with what congratulations of the neighbours thy groat was brought back into thy treasures by the woman

that found it: and the gladness of the solemnity of thy house forceth tears from us, when it is read in thy family concerning thy younger son, that he had been dead and was returned to life, that he had been lost and was found. For thou rejoicest in us, and in thy Angels that art holy by holy charity; for in thyself thou art always the same, who always knowest all things after the same manner, though they neither are always, nor in the same manner.

2. How then comes it to pass in a soul, that she is more pleased with the things she loves, when they are found or restored, than if she had always enjoyed them? For many things bear witness to this, and all places are full of testimonies that cry out, it is so. The Emperor after a victory returns in triumph, but would never have gained the victory, if he had not fought; and the greater danger there was in the fight, the greater is the joy of the triumph. A tempest at sea tosses the ship, and threatens shipwreck; all grow pale with the apprehensions of approaching death: the Heavens and Sea become serene and calm, and their joy is now as excessive as their fear was before. A dear friend falls sick, and his pulse indicates danger; all that wish him well are sick in mind with him: he recovers; and though he is not yet able to walk with his former strength, there is more rejoicing for him, than there was before when he went abroad sound and strong.

3 The very pleasures of human life men

often acquire by preceding pains, and these not unforeseen and involuntary, but purposely procured. The pleasure of eating and drinking is only then found when the uneasiness of hunger and thirst has gone before; and drunkards eat salt things on purpose that they may afterwards find more pleasure in allaying by drinking that painful heat which they have procured. And it is usually so ordered that some time should pass between the promise of marriage and the wedding, lest the husband should have less value for his spouse when given him, whom he had not first longed for whilst she was deferred. This is always found even in filthy and wicked delights; this same holds good in joys that are lawful and allowed; this is to be met with in the most pure honesty of friendship; this same is seen in him, who had been dead and was returned to life, had been lost and was found: every where greater uneasiness is followed by greater joy.

4. How is this, O Lord my God, that whereas thou art to thyself thy own eternal joy, and those that are about thee always rejoice in thee; how is this, I say, that this inferior part of thy creation thus alternately ebbs and flows with pains and pleasures? Is it that this is the measure of their being, and what thou hast allotted them when from the highest Heaven to the lowest parts of the earth, from the beginning to the end of time, from the angel to the worm, from the first motion to the last, all the sorts of thy good things, and all thy just

works were ordered by thee in their proper places, and acted in their proper times? Ah! how high art thou in the highest, and how deep art thou in the deepest and lowest things! And thou departest no where, and yet we hardly return to thee.

CHAPTER IV

WHY THERE IS MORE JOY IN THE CONVERSION OF MEN MORE EMINENT OR NOBLE.

1. Act, O Lord, and do stir us up and call us back; inflame us and ravish us; breathe forth thy fragrancy and become sweet to us: oh! let us now love and run after thee. Are there not many that return to thee out of a deeper hell of blindness, than Victorinus? and they approach to thee and are illuminated, receiving thy light, which whosoever receive, receive from thee the power to become thy sons. Yet if they are less known among the people, even those who know them rejoice less for them. For when we rejoice with many, the joy of each one is greater, because we take more fire and are inflamed by one another. Besides, those converts that are known to many, have greater influence upon many in order to their salvation, and give an example that many will follow; and therefore even they that came in before them, rejoice the more, because they rejoice not for them alone, but for many.—Otherwise far be it from us that in thy House the persons of the rich should be

strong enough to overcome the former, which had been strengthened by long continuance; so these two wills of mine, the one old, the other new, the one carnal, the other spiritual, were in a conflict with one another, and by their jars rent and divided my soul.

2. Thus I understood by experiencing it in myself, what I had read; how the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh, Gal. 5. And it was I in them both, but more I in that which I approved of in myself, than in that which I disapproved of; for in this it was now no more I, because in a great part I rather suffered it against my will, than acted it willingly. But yet the custom which warred against me, was contracted by my own fault; and it was willingly that I came where now I wished I had never come. And who can deny but that it is right that so just a punishment should follow sin? neither had I now any excuse, such as I formerly pretended, when I delayed to forsake the world, and to serve thee, because I had not yet certainly discovered thy truth; for now I was certain of this truth, and yet I was still fettered, and refused to fight under thy colours; being as much afraid of being disengaged from all impediments, as I ought to have feared the being entangled in them. The load of the world, as it happens in sleep, agreeably kept me down; and the thoughts by which I meditated to arise to thee, were but like the struggling of such as would awake, who nevertheless are still over-

come with drowsiness, and fall back into their former slumber. And as there is no man that would always sleep, but every one's sound judgment prefers being awake, and yet many times a man delays the shaking off his sleep, when a heavy laziness benumbs his limbs, and more willingly entertains it, though his reason tells him it is wrong, when 'tis now high time for him to get up; so it was with me, for I was satisfied that it was better for me to give myself up to thy charity, than to yield to my own lusts; but though I was pleased and convinced by the one, I was still strongly affected and captivated by the other.

3. I had nothing now to reply to thee when thou saidst to me, arise thou that sleepest, and rise up from the dead, and Christ will enlighten thee, Eph. 5. And when on every side thou showedst me, that thou didst speak the truth; I had nothing, I say, at all to reply, being now convinced by the truth, to some lazy and drowsy words, presently, by and by, stay a little; but this presently did not come presently, and this stay a little, ran out to a long time. In vain did I delight in thy law according to the inward man, when another law in my members resisted that law of my mind, and led me captive to the law of sin, which was in my members, Rom. 7. For the law of sin is the violence of custom, with which the mind is dragged along, and held against its will, but by its own desert, because it willingly fell into it. Who then should deliver me, wretched

man as I was, from the body of this death, but thy grace, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Rom. 7.

CHAPTER VI

HE IS VISITED BY PONTITIANUS, A COURTIER, WHO RELATES TO HIM THE LIFE OF ST. ANTHONY; AND HOW TWO OF HIS FELLOW-COURTIERS, UPON THE READING THEREOF, HAD RENOUNCED THE WORLD.

1. AND now I will declare and confess to thy name O Lord, my helper and my Redeemer, in what manner thou didst disengage me from that bond of lustful inclinations which tied me so very strait, and from the slavery of worldly business. I went on in my accustomed exercises with an anxiety growing upon me, and I daily sighed after thee. I frequented thy Church, as much as my business would permit, under the load of which I then groaned. Alipius was with me, having a vacation from his law employments, it being now after the third term (or sessions) and was expecting to whom he might again sell his counsels, as I also sold eloquence and the faculty of pleading, as far as it can be communicated by teaching. As for Nebridius, he had condescended to the importunity of our friendship, to teach under Verecundus, a citizen and grammarian of Milan, a most intimate friend to us all, who much wanted a faithful assistant, and earnestly begged, and by the law of friendship required, that it might be one out of our number It was no

desire of gain that drew Nebridius to that employment, whose learning would have entitled him to a higher post; but being of a sweet and complying temper, his good nature would not suffer him to despise the petition of his friends. And he behaved himself most prudently in this employ, shunning the being known by the great ones of this world, that he might the easier avoid all disquiet of mind, which he desired to have free, and for as many hours as he could at leisure to meditate or read, or hear something concerning wisdom.

2. It happened therefore upon a certain day when Nebridius was absent, I know not upon what occasion, there came to our house, to me and Alipius, Pontitianus, a countryman of ours, inasmuch as he was an African, who had an honourable employment in the Emperor's Court. I know not what his business was; but we sat down to talk together; and it chanced that he took notice of a book that was lying upon a billiard-table which stood before us; and he took it up and opened it, and found it to be the Epistles of St. Paul; contrary to his expectations indeed, for he imagined it to be some of the books belonging to my profession, which was now so uneasy to me. Whereupon smiling, and looking upon me in a way of congratulation, he expressed his wonder, that he found those and only those writings before me. For he was a Christian and one of the *faithful*, and often prostrated himself before thee, our God, in Church, by frequent

and long continued prayers. To whom, when he had replied, that those writings were now my chief study, he began a discourse concerning Anthony, a solitary of Egypt, whose name was exceedingly illustrious amongst thy servants, but to that hour unknown to us; which he perceiving, staid the longer upon that subject, informing us of the life of so great a man, and wondering that we had heard nothing of him.

3. We were astonished to hear of thy miracles so very well attested, done so lately, and almost in our own days, in the true Faith and the Catholic Church: and indeed all of us wondered, we that they were so great, and he that they were unknown to us. Thence he turned his discourse to the societies of monasteries, and their manner of life yielding a sweet odour to thee, and the fruitful breasts of those barren deserts, of all which we had heard nothing. And there was at Milan, without the walls of the city, a monastery full of good brothers, under the care of Ambrose, and we knew it not. He went on further with his discourse, and we in silence were attentive to him, and he related to us how upon a certain time when the Court was at Triers and the Emperor one afternoon was entertained with the sports of the Circus, he and three others of his companions went out walking among the gardens near the walls of the city; and there as it happened going two and two together, one with him took one way and the other two another

And that these two, as they were wandering about, lighted upon a certain cottage where some servants of thine dwelt, *poor in spirit, of whom is the Kingdom of Heaven*, St. Matt. 5 And there they found a book in which was written the life of Anthony.

4. This life one of them began to read, and to admire, and to be inflamed with it; and as he was reading, to think of embracing the same kind of life, and quitting his worldly office, to become thy servant. For he was one of those whom they call (Agentes in rebus) Agents in the Emperor's affairs. Then suddenly filled with a holy love, and a sober flame, and angry at himself, he cast his eyes upon his friend, and said to him, "tell me, I pray thee, with all these pains we take in the world, whither would our ambition aspire to? What do we seek? What is it we purpose to ourselves in this employment? Can we have any greater hopes in the Court than to arrive to be friends and favourites of the Emperor? And there, what is there, that is not brittle and full of dangers? And through how many dangers must we ascend to this greater danger? And how long will this last? But the friend and favourite of God, if I please, I may become now presently, and so for ever."

5. He said this, and labouring in travail of a new life, returned his eyes to the pages and read, and was changed within, where thou sawest; and his mind was stripped of the world, as soon appeared. For whilst he was

and long continued prayers. To whom, when he had replied, that those writings were now my chief study, he began a discourse concerning Anthony, a solitary of Egypt, whose name was exceedingly illustrious amongst thy servants, but to that hour unknown to us; which he perceiving, staid the longer upon that subject, informing us of the life of so great a man, and wondering that we had heard nothing of him.

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5. He said this, and labouring in travail of a new life, returned his eyes to the pages and read, and was changed within, where thou sawest; and his mind was stripped of the world, as soon appeared. For whilst he was

reading and rolling to and fro the waves of his heart, he cast out some sighs and groans, and at last concluded and resolved upon better things, and now wholly thine, he said to his friend: "I have now entirely bid adieu to that former hope of ours, and am fully resolved upon serving God, and to begin from this hour in this place. If thou art not willing to do the same, at least don't offer to oppose my resolution." The other replied that he would stick by him as a companion to serve so great a master, and for so great pay. And thus being now both thine, they laid out proper charges for building that tower, St. Luke 14, by leaving all and following thee.

6. By this time Pontitianus and the other that walked with him through other parts of the garden, seeking after them came to the same place, and having found them, minded them of returning home, because the day was far spent. But they acquainting them with their purpose and determination, and in what manner they had taken this resolution, and were confirmed in it, requested of them, that if they pleased not to join with them, they would give them no disturbance: whereupon they being nothing altered from what they were before, bewailed themselves nevertheless, as he said, and piously congratulated with them, and recommended themselves to their prayers; and so with a heart weighed downwards towards the earth, returned to the palace, whilst the other two, with a heart ele-

vated to Heaven, continued in that cottage. And both of them had young ladies to whom they were contracted, who, as soon as they heard these things, consecrated in like manner their virginity to thee These things Pontitianus related to us.

CHAPTER VII.

THE OPERATION THAT PONTITIANUS'S DISCOURSE HAD UPON HIM.

1. But thou, O Lord, whilst he was speaking, didst turn me upon myself, and didst take me from behind my own back, where I had placed me, whilst I had no mind to take notice of myself, and didst set me before my face, that I might see how ugly I was, and how deformed and filthy, and all full of spots and ulcers. And I saw, and I abhorred myself; and there was no way for me to fly from myself. And if I endeavoured to turn away my sight from myself, he was going on with his narration, and thou broughtest me back again, and didst set me before my eyes, that I might discover my iniquity, and hate it. I knew it indeed, but I dissembled it, and winked at it, and forgot it. But now the more ardently I loved these persons, of whom I heard these saving resolutions, by which they had given themselves up without reserve to be cured by thee; the more bitterly I hated myself when compared with them. For many years had passed with me (I think about twelve years)

since I had been stirred up in the nineteenth year of my age, upon reading Cicero's Hortensius, to the study of wisdom; and all this time I had delayed, by despising worldly felicity, to apply myself wholly to search after it; the very search after which, and not the finding it only, was to be preferred to the finding of all the treasures and kingdoms of the world, and all the pleasures of the body, however freely and abundantly they might be enjoyed.

2. But I, when I was a youth, miserable wretch as I was, yea, very miserable, in the first dawning of that age, had begged of thee for chastity, and said give me chastity and continency, but not yet a while. For I was afraid lest thou shouldst hear me too soon, and heal me of the disease of concupiscence, which I rather wished to have satiated than extinguished. And I had gone through wicked ways in a sacrilegious superstition [the Manichæan heresy] not as being fully assured in it, but as preferring it to other things which I did not inquire into as a religious seeker, but impugned as an enemy. And I imagined that therefore I deferred from day to day to follow thee alone, despising all worldly hopes, because as yet there appeared not to me any certain truth, to which I might steer my course. And now was the day come in which I was laid naked before my own eyes, and thus my conscience began to reproach me. "Where art thou, tongue? Thou wast used to say, that thou wouldst not cast off the load of vanity, for

truth as yet uncertain. Lo, now it is certain, and yet this load oppresseth thee still. Whilst others disengaging their shoulders from the burthen, take wing and fly upwards, who have neither been so worn out as thou hast been in the search of truth, nor have spent ten years and more in the study of it."

3. Thus was I inwardly corroded, and extremely confounded with an horrible shame, all the while Pontitianus was relating these things: who, having ended his discourse, and finished his business, for which he came, went his way. And I being turned now upon myself, what did I not say against myself? With what lashes of words and sentences did I not endeavour to whip on my soul, that it might follow me, desiring now to go after thee? And it still hung back and refused, though not able to make any excuse. All its pretexts were now spent and confuted, and there only remained a dumb fear and apprehension, dreading no less than death to be restrained from that course of custom by which it was wasted to death.

CHAPTER VIII.

IN THE ANGUISH OF HIS SOUL HE RETIRES INTO A GARDEN, ALIPIUS FOLLOWING HIM.

1. Then in this great conflict of my inward house, in which I was hotly engaged with my soul, in our private chamber my heart, troubled as well in countenance as in mind, I set *Alipius* and cried out 'what is this we suffer? What

is this thou hast been hearing? The unlearned arise and take Heaven by force, and we with all our learning, cowardly and heartless (see) how we still wallow in flesh and blood. Are we ashamed to follow them because they have got the start of us and are gone before us? And ought we not be more ashamed if we do not so much as follow?" I said, I know not what words, to this purpose, and the tumult of my mind hurried me away from him, who stood silent, beholding me with astonishment. For I spoke not as usual; and besides my forehead, my cheeks, my eyes, my colour, the accent of my voice expressed more the state of my mind, than the words which I uttered.

2. There was a little garden belonging to our lodging, which we made use of, as we did of the whole house; for our friend the master of the house dwelt not therein. Thither this tumult of my breast carried me, where none might interrupt the hot conflict, in which I was engaged with myself, until it might conclude in that issue, which thou already knewest, but not I. For I was as yet only wholesomely raging at myself, and dying in order to a new life; well knowing what evil I then was, but not knowing what good within a little while I was to be. I went away therefore into the garden. Alipius followed close after me; for I counted myself not less private for his being there, nor would he leave me alone, seeing me in this commotion. We sat down as remote as might be from the houses.

And I groaned in spirit, angry at myself, with a most violent indignation, because I did not yet enter upon that covenant and league with thee, my God, which all my bones cried out, that I ought to enter upon, and extolled it to me to the very Heavens. Neither did I stand in need either of ships, or coaches, or of feet to go thither; no not even so much as when I came from the house to the place where we were sitting; for not only to go, but also to arrive thither, was nothing else but to have a will of going; but this was to be a resolute and absolute will; and not a maimed will, turned and tossed this way and that, and whilst it rises in one part, is struggling with another part that is falling.

3. And in these very conflicts of my delay how many things did I do in my body, which men are not always able to do when they will, if either they have not those parts, or they be bound in chains, or dissolved with sickness, or any other way hindered? If I then tore off my hair, or struck my forehead, or clasped my hands about my knee, because I had a will to do it, I did it. And yet it was possible that I might have a will to do such things as those, and not be able to do them, if my joints were not pliant to obey my will. I did then so many things, the willing of which was not the same as to be able to do them, and yet I did not do that, which pleased me incomparably more, and which I might be able to do as soon as ever I had the will to do it: because as soon

as ever I had the will I should doubtless be willing; and here the ability is the same as the will, and the very willing is doing; and yet it was not done: and the body more easily obeyed the slenderest will of the soul, by the motion of the limbs, according to its beck, than the soul obeyed itself in procuring its pleasures, which might be obtained by the only willing it.

CHAPTER IX.

HE WONDERS AT THE GREAT DIFFICULTY THE WILL HATH TO COMMAND HERSELF; WHEREAS SHE SO EASILY COMMANDETH ALL THE PARTS OF THE BODY.

1. From whence is this prodigy? And why is this? Let thy mercy shine forth, that I may inquire, if perhaps these lurking holes of the punishment of men, and the most dark condition of the sons of Adam can furnish me with an answer. From whence is this prodigy, and why is this? The soul commands the body, and is presently obeyed; the soul commands itself, and is opposed. The soul commands that the hand should be moved, and it is so quickly executed, that the command can scarce be distinguished from the obedience, and yet the soul is a spirit, and the hand is a body. The soul commands that the soul itself should will a thing, and yet though it be the same soul, it doth not what is commanded. Whence is this prodigy, and why is this? It commands, I say that it should will a thing, which

if it did not will already, it would never command; and yet that is not done which it commands.

2. But it does not entirely will it, and therefore it does not entirely command. For it commands so far only as it wills; and that which it commands is not done, insomuch as it does not will. For 'tis the will that commands, that there should be a will, not any other will but itself. 'Tis not then a full will that commands, and therefore that is not done which it commands; for if there were a full will there would be no occasion for commanding that that there should be a will, for it would be already. 'Tis then no prodigy, that one should be partly willing and partly not willing; but 'tis a sickness or weakness of the soul, which, being weighed down by evil custom, does not entirely arise when lifted up by truth. And therefore there are two wills, because one of them is not entire, and what is wanting to one is with the other.

CHAPTER X.

A DIGRESSION AGAINST THE MANICHÆANS, WHO PRETENDED THAT THERE WERE TWO SOULS IN MAN.

1. Let them perish from before thy face, as vain babblers and seducers of souls perish, who observing two wills in our deliberations, affirm that there are in man two natures of two minds or souls, the one good, the other bad. They themselves are bad indeed whilst they

entertain these bad sentiments, and the same will be good, if they will entertain true sentiments and consent to things that are true; that the Apostle may say to them, *You were for some time darkness but now light in the Lord*, Eph. 5. But they will needs be light not in the Lord, but in themselves; thinking that the nature of the soul is the same thing that God is: Thus they become grosser darkness; because they go farther off from thee, by a horrid arrogance, from thee *the true light that enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world*, St. John 1. Consider what you are saying, and be ashamed of yourselves; and *draw nigh to him and be enlightened, and your countenance will not be confounded*, Psalm 33. When I was thus deliberating to come now to the service of the Lord my God, as I had proposed for a long time, it was I that was willing, and it was I that was unwilling. It was the same I, but as yet I neither fully willed it, nor fully nilled it; and therefore I was in a strife with myself, and was divided from myself. And this same distraction was indeed against my will; but it did not show in me the nature of another mind or soul, but the punishment of my own. And therefore it was not now I that wrought this distraction, but sin that dwelt in me, from the punishment of a sin more freely committed, because I was a son of Adam.

2. For if there are as many contrary natures in us as there are opposite inclinations of the

will, there will not be two only, but more. If any man deliberates whether he shall go to their meeting-house, or to the theatre, they cry out, *Lo! two natures, the one good, which leads this way towards the meeting; the other bad, which draws the other way towards the theatre! For whence should be this demur of wills thus fighting against one another?* But I say that both these wills are bad, both that which leads to their meeting, and that which draws to the theatre. But they don't believe that will can be otherwise than good which leads to them. Suppose then that one of us should deliberate, and by reason of the conflict of two wills, should waver and doubt, whether he should go to the theatre, or to our church; will not these men be at a loss what to answer? For either they must confess, (which they are not willing to do) that the will is good by which men go to our church, as they go who are instructed in our sacraments and hold our communion; or else they must think that there are two evil natures and two evil minds that are at strife in the same man; and so that will not be true which they are used to say, that there is one that is good, another that is bad; or they will be converted to the truth, and confess that when any man deliberates, 'tis but one and the same soul that is tossed by different wills. Let them then no longer say, when they find two wills in the same man contrary to one another, that two contrary minds, of two contrary substances, and from two contrary princi-

ples, are upon those occasions in a conflict with one another, the one good, the other bad.

3. For thou, the God of truth, dost disapprove, and rebuke, and convince them. As when both the wills are bad; as they are when any one deliberates whether he should make away a man by poison or the sword; whether he should invade this or that estate of his neighbour when he can't have them both; whether he should indulge his luxury by spending his money upon his pleasures, or his avarice in keeping it up; whether he should go to the circus, or to the theatre, if both be exhibited upon the same day; I add a third thing or commit a theft, if occasion offers; or by way of a fourth thing, commit adultery, if there be an opportunity also for this crime; if all these concur upon the same point of time, and all be much desired, but cannot all be effected at once. For in such cases the soul is rent by four wills opposite to one another, or even by more in so great a variety of things as may be desired; and yet these men are not accustomed to admit such a multitude of different substances. The like happens also in good wills; for I ask of them whether it be not good to be delighted with reading the Apostle; and whether it be not good to be pleased with a sober psalm; and whether again it be not good to discourse upon the Gospel? They must answer to each of these interrogations, that it is good. What then if all these together should at one and the same time offer their

delight? Will not different wills divide the heart of man, whilst he is deliberating which of these things he shall rather chuse? And all these wills are good, and they struggle amongst themselves, till some one thing be chosen to which that whole one will may be carried, which was before divided into many. So also when eternity delights us above, and the pleasures of a temporal good tempt us below, it is the same soul, not having a full and entire will either for one or the other; and therefore she is rent and torn, and suffers much whilst by truth she prefers the one, and by custom and affection cares not to part with the other.

CHAPTER XI.

HE DESCRIBES THE CONFLICTS THAT PASSED IN HIS SOUL, BEFORE HE COULD COME TO A RESOLUTION.

1. Thus was I sick and tormented in mind, accusing myself much more bitterly than before, and rolling and turning myself about in my chain, till it might be wholly broken, a little only of which now held me; but yet it held me. And thou, O Lord, in my interior wast still pressing me on, with a severe mercy redoubling the stripes of fear and shame, lest I should leave off struggling, and that little that only remained, should not be broken off, and so might grow again upon me, and bind me faster. And I said within myself, come let it now be done, let it be done at present. And as I said it, I was just going to do it, and I

almost did it, and yet did not do it. Neither did I go back to where I was before, but stood very near, and took breath; and then set on again. And I wanted very little of being there, and was within a very little of touching and laying hold of it, and yet I was not there, nor did I touch or lay hold of it; still demurring a while to die unto death, and to live unto life; and the evil that I had been long accustomed to, being still more prevalent with me than that which was better which I had not experienced. And the nearer the point of time approached in which I was to become another man, the more I dreaded it; yet it did not make me recoil, or turn away, but only to quite stand in suspense.

2. Those trifles of trifles and vanities of vanities to which I had been too long a friend, hung about me, and pulling me by the garment of the flesh, softly whispered to me, wilt thou then forsake us? And from this moment shall we no more be with thee for ever? And from this moment shalt thou no more be allowed to do this or that for ever? And what things did they suggest to me under what I call this or that; what things did they suggest, O my God! Let thy mercy keep them far from the soul of thy servant. What filth, what shameful things did they suggest? And I heard them now much less than half, not as boldly confronting me and opposing me to my face; but as muttering behind me, and secretly pulling me by the coat (as one going away) that I

might look back upon them. Yet they somewhat retarded me, whilst I delayed to snatch myself away, and shake them off, and to spring forward whither I was called; the violence of evil custom still saying to me, dost thou think that thou canst live without these things?

3. But now it said this very faintly. For there was discovered to me on that part towards which I turned my face, though as yet I trembled to pass over, the chaste dignity of Continency, serene and modestly cheerful, kindly enticing me to come forward, and to fear nothing, and stretching forth her loving hands to receive and embrace me, full of whole crowds of good examples. There were great numbers of boys and girls; there a multitude of young men and maidens, and persons of all ages; grave widows, and old women virgins. And in all these Continency herself was not barren, but a fruitful mother of children, that is, of chaste delights from thee, O Lord, her heavenly bridegroom. And she laughed at me with a kind of derision by way of drawing me on, as if she had said, and art not thou able to do what these youths and these maidens do? Or are these able in themselves, and not in the Lord their God. The Lord their God gave me to them. Why standest thou upon thyself, and therefore dost not stand? Throw thyself upon him; fear not, he will not withdraw himself to let thee fall. Cast thyself upon him, without apprehension, he will receive thee and heal thee. And I was exceedingly ashamed, that I

should still hear the whispers of those toys, and hang in suspense. And she began again, as if she said, stop thy ears against those unclean members of thine, which are upon the earth, that they may be mortified; they tell thee of delights, but not as the law of the Lord thy God, Psalm 118. Such was the conflict within my heart between me alone and myself; whilst Alipius, who kept close by me, waited in silence for the issue of this my unusual commotion.

CHAPTER XII.

HIS TOTAL CONVERSION, UPON HEARING A VOICE FROM HEAVEN, AND READING A PASSAGE OF ST. PAUL, WHERE THE BOOK FIRST OPENED.

1. But when deep consideration had gathered out of its secret fund, and heaped together all my misery before the view of my heart, there arose in me a mighty storm, bringing with it a very great shower of tears; which, that I might more freely pour forth with its proper words, I arose from Alipius; conceiving solitude to be more fit for a business of weeping: and I removed to that distance, where even his presence might not be burdensome to me. So it was then with me; and he perceived something of it (I know not what) from my words, I believe, when I arose, in which the sound of my voice discovered that I was big with tears. So he staid in the place where he had been sitting much amazed.

I threw myself down, I know not how, under a certain fig-tree, and there gave free scope to my tears; and floods broke out from my eyes, an acceptable sacrifice to thee. And not indeed in these same words, but to this purpose I said many things to thee. And thou, O Lord, how long? how long, O Lord, wilt thou be angry unto the end? Be not mindful of our old iniquities? For I perceived myself to be held by them. And I cast out lamentable complaints. How long, how long, to-morrow and to-morrow! Why not now? Why not this very hour an end to my filthiness?

2. I spoke these things, and I wept with a most bitter contrition of my heart. And behold I heard a voice from a neighbouring house, as of a boy or a girl, I know not whether, saying in a singing note, and often repeating, tolle lege, tolle lege, take up and read. And presently my countenance being altered, I began to be very intent to consider, whether in any kind of play children were wont to sing any such words; nor could I call to mind, that I had any where heard the like. Whereupon the course of my tears being suppressed, I got up, interpreting it to be nothing less than a divine admonition that I should open the Book, and read the place I first lit upon. For I had heard of Anthony, that he had taken the lesson of the gospel, which was reading when he came into church, as particularly addressed to him, go sell all thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have a treasure in heaven, and come

follow me, St. Matt. 19, and by this divine oracle he was out of hand converted to thee.

3. Therefore I returned in haste to the place where Alipius was sitting, for there I had laid down the book of the Apostle, when I arose from thence: I catched it up, opened it, and read in silence the place on which I first cast my eyes, Rom. 13, *v.* 18. *Not in revellings and drunkeness, not in chamberings and impurities, not in strifes and envies: but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh in its concupiscences.* I would read no further, nor was there need: for with the end of this sentence, as if a light of confidence and security had streamed into my heart, all the darkness of my former hesitation was dispelled. Then putting my finger, or some other mark in the place, I shut the book, and with a countenance that was now calm and serene, related all to Alipius, who in the manner following, discovered what was to be done in him, which I did not know. He asked to see what I had read; I showed him the place; he looked on farther than I had read, who knew not what followed; and the next words were, *him that is weak in the faith take unto you*, which he applied to himself, and so told me. But by this admonition he was strengthened, and without any disturbance of mind or hesitation, joined himself to me in this good determination and resolution, which was very agreeable to his manners and virtuous inclinations, in which he had long before far surpassed me.

4. Thence we go in to my mother; we relate our resolution to her; she rejoiceth at it: we tell her how it was brought about; she exults and triumphs, and blesses thee, *who art able to do above what we ask or understand*, Eph. 3. For she now saw so much more granted her by thee in my regard, than she had been wont to ask with all those tears and lamentable groans. For thou hadst converted me to thee in such manner, as that I neither sought for a wife, nor for any hope of this world, standing now with her upon that rule of Faith, on which thou hadst so many years ago in a vision represented me to her. And *thou turnedst her mourning into* a much more plentiful *joy*, Psalm 29, than she had desired; and much more precious and chaste, than what she expected from her grand-children of my body.

ST. AUGUSTIN'S

CONFESSIONS.

BOOK IX.

CHAPTER I

HE PRAISETH AND GIVETH THANKS TO GOD FOR HIS DELIVERY FROM HIS FORMER LUSTS: AND EXPRESSETH THE GREAT JOY AND CONTENT HE PRESENTLY EXPERIENCED.

1. O LORD, I am thy servant, I am thy servant and the son of thy handmaid. Thou hast broken my bonds asunder: to thee will I offer the sacrifice of praise, Psalm 115. Let my heart and my tongue praise thee; and let all my bones say, Lord, who is like unto thee? Psalm 34. Let them say this, and do you say again unto me, *I am thy salvation.* Who am I, and what a one am I? What evil has there not been in me, either in my deeds; or if not in my deeds, in my words, if not in my words, in my will? But thou, O Lord, art good and merciful, and thy right hand has regarded the profundity of my death, and has drawn out of the bottom of my heart the abyss of corruption; which was nothing else but this, not to will what thou wouldst, and to will that which thou wouldst not.

2. But where for so long a time was my free-will, and out of what low and deep recess was it called forth in a moment, for me to submit my neck to thy sweet yoke, and my shoulders to thy light burthen, O Jesus Christ, my Helper and my Redeemer? How sweet on a sudden was it become to me to be without the sweets of those toys? And what I was before so much afraid to lose, I now cast from me with joy. For thou didst expel them from me, who art the true and sovereign sweetness: thou expelledst them, and didst come in thyself instead of them, sweeter than any pleasure whatsoever, but not to flesh and blood; brighter than any light whatsoever, but more interior than any secret; higher than any honour or dignity whatsoever, but not to those that are high in themselves. Now was my mind free from the gnawing cares of the ambition of honour, of the acquisition of riches, and of weltering in pleasures, and scratching the itch of lusts: and my infant-tongue began to prattle with thee, my Lord God, my true honour, and my riches, and my salvation.

CHAPTER II

HE RESOLVES UPON FORSAKING HIS PROFESSION OF RHETORIC AFTER THE VINTAGE VACATION.

1. AND it seemed good to me in thy presence not noisily to break off, but gently to withdraw the service of my tongue from that fair of loquacity; that the youths who did not

study thy law, nor thy presence, but lying follies and the wars of the Forum, might no longer purchase from my mouth the arms of their madness. And it happened well that now there remained but very few days to the vintage vacation, which I resolved patiently to endure, that I might quit my school at the usual time, and being now ransomed by thee, might no more be exposed to sale. And this our design was in thy sight, but was not known by men, excepting our intimate friends. And we had agreed amongst ourselves, that it should not be divulged to others abroad. Although thou hadst now given unto us, ascending from the vale of tears, and (like the Israelites going up to thy temple) singing to thee the Gradual Psalms. *Sharp arrows and consuming coals against the deceitful tongue*, Psalm Grad. 119, which opposes our good under pretence of consulting it, and (as men use their meat) loves us so as to destroy us. For thou hadst pierced our heart with thy charity; and thy words, like arrows, were fixed in our inward parts; and the examples of thy servants, whom thou hadst brought from darkness to light, and from death to life, being laid up together in the bosom of our thought, inflamed and consumed our heavy numbness, that we should no longer tend downwards to the things below; and enkindled in us so strong a flame, that any wind of opposition that could blow from a deceitful tongue, would but have increased it, instead of extinguishing it.

2. Nevertheless, as by reason of thy name which thou hast sanctified throughout the earth, such our vow and resolution would meet with many that would praise and commend it, it would look like ostentation not to stay for the vacation now so near at hand, but to desert before the time so public a profession, that was under the eyes of all; so that the mouths of all that saw it would be reflecting on this my act, for having anticipated the time when the breaking up was so near, and would be saying many things, as if I had affected to be taken notice of, and to seem some great one. And what occasion was there for me, that men should be passing their opinion and disputing about my intentions, and blaspheming our good?

3. Moreover, that same summer my lungs began to fail under the excessive labour of my school, and to fetch breath with difficulty, and by the pains of my breast to signify that they were hurt, and to refuse their concurrence to any loud or long discourse. Which at the first troubled me, because it would oblige me either quite to lay down that burthen of my profession, or if I could be cured and recover, at least to intermit it. But after I had now taken a full resolution *to attend at leisure, and to see that thou art God*, Psalm 45, and I was confirmed in it; thou knowest, O my God, I began even to be glad, that I had this excuse also, which was no ways false, to moderate the discontent of those men, who, for the sake of their

children, were unwilling that I should be at liberty

4. Being full therefore of such joy, I patiently endured that interval of time, 'till it should be run out: I know not whether it was so much as twenty days; yet fortitude was now necessary to endure them; for those irregular desires (of ambition or avarice) which had formerly helped me to bear so heavy a burden, were now departed; and I remaining without them should have been quite overwhelmed by it, had not patience succeeded in their place. Some of thy servants, my brethren, may say, perhaps, that it was a sin in me, having now my heart full of devoting myself to thy service, to suffer myself, though it were but one hour longer, to sit in the chair of lies. And, for my part, I will not stand to dispute it. But thou, O Lord, most merciful, hast thou not pardoned and remitted this sin also unto me, with so many others more horrible and deadly, in the holy water of baptism.

CHAPTER III.

VERECUNDUS OFFERS HIS COUNTRY-HOUSE FOR THEIR RETIREMENT. THE DEATH OF VERECUNDUS AND NEBRIDIUS, NOT LONG AFTER ST. AUGUSTIN'S CONVERSION, BEING BOTH FIRST MADE CHRISTIANS.

1. VERECUNDUS was not a little anxious for this our good; because he saw that now he should be deprived of our company, by reason of the bonds wherewith he was so strictly tied

to the world. He was not yet a Christian, though his wife was one of the Faithful; who neverthless was the chief fetter that retarded him from following that course of life which we proposed to enter upon: and he denied that he would be a Christian upon any other terms than such as he could not be admitted upon. However he very kindly offered us, for the time of our abode in those parts, the use of his country-house. Thou wilt reward him, O Lord, in the resurrection of the just, since thou hast already rewarded him with the lot of the just. For when we were absent, and were gone to Rome, he was seized by a corporeal sickness, and in it was made a Christian, and one of the Faithful, and so departed this life. Thus thou wast pleased to show mercy not to him only, but to us; left thinking on the great kindness of this our friend to us, and not numbering him amongst thy flock, we should have been tormented with an insupportable grief. Thanks be to thee, O God, we are thine; thy exhortations and consolations sufficiently show it. Thou art faithful in thy promise; thou wilt return to Verecundus, for his country-house at Cassicy, where retired from the tumult of the world we repose in thee, the pleasantness of thy paradise eternally green; for thou hast forgiven him his sins here upon earth, *in the fat mountain* (the Church) *thy mountain, that fertile mountain*, Psalm 67.

2. At that time therefore Verecundus was very much concerned; but Nebridius rejoiced

with us. For although he also not being yet a Christian had fallen into the pit of that most pernicious error, to believe the flesh of the Truth thy Son to have been no more than a phantom; he was now reclaimed from it, and was so to himself; and though not as yet initiated in any of the Sacraments of the Church, was a most earnest inquirer after truth: who also not long after our conversion and regeneration by thy baptism, becoming a faithful Catholic, and serving thee in perfect chastity and continency in *Africa*, amongst his kindred, after he had brought over all his family to the Christian Faith, was by thee loosed from the flesh, and now he lives in *Abraham's* bosom. Whatever it is that is signified by that bosom, there my *Nebridius* lives; that dear friend of mine, and adopted son of thine, set first at liberty by thee where he now lives. For what other place could receive such a soul? There he lives, concerning which place he asked so many questions of me a poor inexperienced mortal. He now no more lays his ears to my mouth, but his spiritual mouth to thy fountain, and there drinks to his fill true wisdom with a thirst ever fresh, happy without end. And yet I cannot think that he is so inebriated therewith as to forget me, since thou, O Lord the fountain at which he drinketh, art pleased to be mindful of us.

3. Thus therefore it was with us at that time; we endeavoured to comfort Verecundus, who was grieved (tho' without any diminution

of friendship) at our conversion; and we exhorted him to the faith of his station, viz. of a married life. And we waited for Nebridius, to follow us, which he was so well disposed to do, and was just upon the point of doing, when behold those days at last were run out: for they seemed long and many to me, by reason of the longing desire that I had to be at liberty, that I might sing to thee with my whole soul, Psalm 26, *My heart hath said unto thee, I have sought thy countenance; thy countenance, O Lord, I will still seek.*

CHAPTER IV

HIS RETIRING IN THE VACATION TO THE COUNTRY-HOUSE OF VERECUNDUS; HIS MEDITATIONS ON THE FOURTH PSALM, AND ON THE MIRACULOUS CURE OF HIS VIOLENT TOOTH-ACHE, WHICH HAD RENDERED HIM SPEECHLESS.

1. And now the day was come wherein I was in effect released from my professorship of rhetoric, from which I had already been released in affection. And it was done; and thou deliveredst my tongue from what thou hadst before delivered my heart: and rejoicing I blessed thee, going into the country with all my nearest friends; where what I did in my writings (now indeed dedicated to thy service, but still something relishing of the school of pride so lately left) may be seen in the books*

* He wrote there his books, Contra Academicos, De Vita Beata, De Ordine, and his Soliloquia.

composed there, partly by way of dialogue, with those who were with me; and partly with myself alone in thy presence: and what passed partly betwixt me and Nebridius, who was absent, appears by my epistles: and when shall I find time enough to commemorate all thy great benefits bestowed upon us at that time, especially being hastening now to other still greater things? For my remembrance calls me back to those times, and it becomes very sweet to me to confess to thee, O Lord, with what inward pricks thou didst then break and tame me; and in what manner thou didst make me plain and level, taking down the mountains and hills of my thoughts, and how thou madest straight what was crooked in me, and smooth what was rough. In what manner also thou didst subdue Alipius the brother of my heart, to the name of thy only begotten Son our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: which name at first he was unwilling to have inserted in our writings: for he had rather they should relish of the *cedars* of the schools, *which the Lord hath now broken in pieces*, Psalm 28, than of the low wholesome herbs of the Church, which are sovereign against serpents.

2. O what voices did I send up to thee, my God, when I read the Psalms of David, those faithful canticles, those airs of piety, which exclude a proud spirit; when I was as yet but a novice in thy sincere love, a Catechumen only in the country, at leisure from worldly business, with Alipius equally a Catechumen. My

mother being also with us, in a woman's habit, but with a manly faith, with the security of old age, the charity of a mother, and the piety of a christian. What affectionate words did I utter to thee in those Psalms; and how much was I inflamed by them with the love of thee; and burned with a desire of reciting them if I could, all the world over, to abate the swelling pride of mankind? and indeed they are sung all the world over, *neither is there any one that can hide himself from thy heat*, Psalm 18. With what a vehement and sharp indignation was I incensed against the Manichæans; and how again did I pity them, that they were ignorant of these mysterious hymns, these sovereign medicines, and were mad at the antidote which might have cured them of their madness? I could have wished that they had been somewhere near me, without my knowing of their being there, or of their hearing me; and could have seen my countenance, and heard my expressions when I read the fourth Psalm in that retirement of mine, and observed the effects it wrought upon me.

3. *Cum invocarem. When I called upon thee, thou didst hear me, O God of my justice, in tribulation thou hast enlarged me. Have mercy on me, O Lord, and hear my prayer.* v. 1. 2. I could have wished that they might have heard (without my knowing that they heard me, that they might not think I spoke upon their account) what things I said upon those words For indeed I should not have said

the same things, nor in the same manner, if I had perceived that I was heard and seen by them. Nor if I should have said the same, would they take it in such manner as when spoken with myself and to myself in thy presence, from the familiar affection of my soul. I trembled with fear, and again I was inflamed with hope and with exultation in thy mercy, O Father! and all these things issued forth by my eyes, and by my voice, when thy good Spirit turning unto us, saith in the following words, *ye sons of men, how long are you dull of heart? Why do you love vanity, and seek after a lie?* v. 3 For I had loved vanity, and sought a lie: and thou, O Lord, hadst now *magnified thy Holy One*, v. 4, raising him from the dead, and placing him at thy right hand; from whence he should send from on high his promise, the Paraclete, the Spirit of Truth; and he had already sent him, and I knew it not. He had sent him, because he was now magnified, rising from the dead and ascending into Heaven. For 'till then *the Spirit was not given, because Jesus was not yet glorified*, St. John 7. And the Prophet cries out, *how long will you be dull in heart? Why do you love vanity and seek after a lie? And know ye that the Lord hath glorified his Holy one.* He cries out, *how long?* And he cries out, *know ye;* and I *so long not knowing* had *loved vanity and sought after a lie.* And therefore I heard and trembled; because this was spoken to such as, I remembered, I had been. For in those phan-

toms which I had held for truth, there was vanity and a lie. And I broke forth into many strong and vehement expressions in the bitterness of my remembrance; which I wish they might have heard, who still love vanity, and seek after a lie; perhaps they would have been troubled, and would have cast it away, and so *thou wouldst hear them, when they would cry to thee*, v. 4, because he has died for us a true and real death of the flesh, who intercedes to thee for us.

4. I read there, *Be angry and sin not*, v. 5. And how was I moved therewith, O my God, who by this time had learnt to be angry with myself for my past sins, that for the time to come I might sin no more; and with good reason to be angry with myself, because it was not any other nature of the nation of darkness, that sinned in me, as they say, who will not be angry with themselves, and so *treasure up anger against the day of anger, and of the revelation of thy just judgment*, Rom. 2. Neither were my good things now placed abroad without me, nor sought for in this sun by the eyes of the flesh: For they who seek their joy in something abroad do easily become vain, and are poured forth upon those things which are seen, and which are temporal, and lick their images with hungry thought: and would to God, that they were weary of this hunger, and would say—*who will show us good things?* v. 6. that we might answer them again, and they might hearken to it--*The light of thy counte-*

nance O Lord, is signed upon us, v. 7. For we ourselves are not *that light, which enlighteneth every man*, but we are enlightened by thee that so *we who were sometimes darkness, may now be light in thee*, Eph. 5 Oh! that they could see that internal eternal light, which I having had a taste of, was so much moved because I could not show it to them, as long as they brought me their heart in their eyes abroad from thee, and said—*who will show us good things?* For there it was where I was *angry* with myself, viz.: *within my bedchamber*, where I had *compunction*, v. 5., and where I had *sacrificed* to thee, slaying my old life, and had begun to meditate upon a new one, *hoping in thee*, v. 5 There it was that thou hadst now begun to grow sweet unto me, and *hadst given a gladness in my heart*, v. 7. And I was transported into an exclamation, reading these things outwardly, and experiencing them within me Neither did I now desire to be *multiplied* with earthly goods, consuming time, and myself consumed by the things of time; whereas I had in an eternal simplicity, another sort of *corn, wine and oil*, v. 8.

5. And I cried out in the following verse 9, with the loud cry of my heart, *O in peace, O in the self-same*, O what is that he saith? *I will sleep and I will take my rest*, for who shall disturb us, when that *word is come to pass which is written, death is swallowed up in victory*, 1 Cor. 15. And thou art that self-same (*id ipsum*) indeed who art never changed; and in

thee is this rest, forgetting all labours, for there is none with thee. Nor is it worth the while to labour to get many other things, which are not what thou art; *But thou O Lord, singularly hast established me in hope*, v. 10. I read this, and I was all on fire, and I found not what to do to those that were deaf and dead, one of whom I had been, as pestilent as any of them, a bitter and blind barker against those writings, all sweet with the honey of Heaven; and all lightsome from thy light; and I perfectly pined away by reason of the enemies of this Scripture.

6. When shall I be able to call to mind all the passages of that our country retirement? But amongst them I have not forgot, neither will I pass over in silence the sharp scourge with which thou didst visit me there, and the wonderful celerity of thy mercy. Thou didst then greatly torment me with the tooth-ache: and when it had increased to that degree that I could not speak; it came into my mind to request of all my friends that were there to join in prayer for me to thee, the God of all manner of health. And I wrote this in wax, and gave it them to read; and as soon as we knelt down to humble prayer, the pain was gone. But what a pain was it? And how strangely did it cease. I was frightened at it, I confess, O Lord my God, for I had never felt the like from my childhood. And the power of every beck of thine in the deepest of our misery was thus showed unto me; and rejoicing in faith I

praised thy name. But the same faith suffered me not to rest quiet concerning my former sins, which were not yet remitted to me by thy baptism.

CHAPTER V

HE ACQUAINTS ST. AMBROSE BY LETTERS WITH HIS FORMER ERRORS AND PRESENT RESOLUTIONS.

THE vintage vacation being ended I gave notice to the Milanese, to provide for their scholars another master of rhetoric: for that I had resolved to dedicate myself to thy service; and moreover, by reason of my difficulty of breathing and pain of my breast, I was no longer fit for that profession. And I signified by letters to thy prelate, that holy man Ambrose, my former errors, and my present desire; that he might instruct me what part of thy Scriptures it would be most proper for me to read, that I might be the better prepared and fitted for so great a grace. And he appointed to me the Prophet Isaiah; I believe, because he more evidently than any of the rest foreshows the Gospel, and the calling of the Gentiles. But I not understanding what I first read in him, and supposing all the rest would be the same, laid him aside to be taken up again when I was more expert in the divine word.

CHAPTER VI

HE RETURNS TO MILAN TO RECEIVE BAPTISM WITH HIS FRIEND ALIPIUS, AND HIS SON ADEODATUS

1. When the time was come to give in my name (for baptism) leaving the country we returned to Milan. And it seemed good to Alipius to be regenerated in thee with me, he having now put on that humility which is suitable to thy sacraments, and being a most valiant subduer of his body, even to the walking barefoot on the frozen ground of Italy, an unusual attempt. We joined with us also the boy Adeodatus, carnally born of my sin; but thou hast made him well. He was then about fifteen years of age, and he surpassed in wit many grave and learned men. I confess thy gifts to thee, O Lord my God, the Creator of all, who art very powerful to reform our deformities. For there was nothing in that boy that was mine, but the sin. For if he was brought up in thy discipline, it was what thou hadst inspired into us, and no other. To thee therefore I confess thy gift. There is a book of mine, entitled De Magistro, by way of dialogue, where he is introduced discoursing with me: thou knowest that all those were his own thoughts, which are there spoken in person of him that holds the dialogue with me, when he was but sixteen years old. I experienced many other more admirable things in him: and was perfectly astonished at that prodigy of wit.

And who but thou could be the maker of such wonders?

2. Thou didst soon take away his life from the earth; and with more security I now remember him, having no fear either for his childhood, or for his youth, or indeed at all for that man. Him we associated to us, to be of equal age with us in thy grace and to be educated by us in thy discipline. And we were baptised; and our solicitude for our former life fled from us. Nor was I satiated in those days with the wonderful sweetness I enjoyed in my considering the depth of thy counsel concerning the salvation of mankind. O how much did I weep in hearing thy hymns and canticles, being exceedingly moved by the voices of thy harmonious church. Those voices flowed in at my ears, and thy truth distilled into my heart; and from thence the affection of devotion boiled over, and tears flowed from me, and I found much comfort in them.

CHAPTER VII

HE RELATES UPON WHAT OCCASION THE SINGING OF PSALMS AND HYMNS AFTER THE MANNER OF THE EASTERN CHURCHES WAS FIRST INTRODUCED IN THE CHURCH OF MILAN; AND OF THE MIRACLES WROUGHT UPON THE DISCOVERY OF THE BODIES OF THE SAINTS GERVASIUS AND PROTASIUS.

1. THE Church of Milan had not long before begun to celebrate that kind of mutual consolation and exhortation, with great devotion of

the brethren, singing together with voice and heart. It was then about a year, or not much more, since Justina, mother of Valentinian, the Emperor, a minor, persecuted thy servant Ambrose, in favour of her heresy, into which she had been seduced by the Arians. The pious people watched night and day in the Church, ready to die with their Bishop, thy servant. There also my mother, thy handmaid, bearing a chief part in the solicitude and watchings, lived in prayer. And we, though cold as yet with regard to the heat of thy spirit, were stirred up nevertheless by the concern and trouble of the whole city. And at this time it was instituted, that hymns and psalms should be sung after the manner of the eastern parts, that the people might not languish with weariness and sorrow. And this practice is retained there to this day, and followed by many or almost all thy congregations in the rest of the parts of the world.

2. Then it was, that by a vision thou didst discover to thy Prelate, before named, where the bodies of thy martyrs Gervasius and Protasius lay hid, which for so many years thou hadst kept uncorrupted in thy secret treasury, opportunely now to bring them forth to restrain the rage of a woman, but she an Empress. For when they, being discovered and dug up, were with beseeming honour translated to Ambrose's Church, not only they that were troubled with unclean spirits were delivered, the same devils confessing what they were;

but also a certain citizen [by name Severus] who had been many years blind, and was well known in the city, having enquired and learned the cause of the joy and concourse of the people, leaped up and desired his guide to conduct him thither; where when he was arrived he procured to be admitted to touch with his handkerchief the bier of the *death of thy Saints precious in thy sight*, Psalm 115, which when he had done and had applied the handkerchief to his eyes, they were immediately opened. Hereupon the fame of this miracle was immediately spread abroad; and thy praises were fervently celebrated, and the mind of that enraged woman, though it was not brought to the health of faith, was repressed from the fury of persecution. Thanks be to thee, my God: from whence and whither hast thou guided my remembrance that I should also confess these things unto thee, which being so considerable I had forgotten and passed over in their proper place? and yet even then, when the *odour of thy ointments* was so fragrant, we did not *run after thee*, Cantic. 1. And for this reason I wept the more at the singing of these hymns of thine, as having a long time before sighed after thee, and now at last breathing in thee, as far as there is room for this kind of respiration in this house of grass.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CONVERSION OF EVODIUS. ST. AUGUSTIN RETURNS BY ROME TO AFRICA. HIS MOTHER DIES AT OSTIA. A DESCRIPTION OF HER PIOUS EDUCATION AND LIFE.

1. THOU *who makest men to live together unanimous in one House*, Psalm 67, didst add to our society Evodius* also, a young man of our city; who being one of the court officers whom they called Agents in the emperor's affairs, was converted to thee, and baptized before us; and now relinquishing his worldly employment, betook himself to thy service. We were all together, and we designed to live together in our holy purpose: and we were seeking what place might be most proper for us, wherein to devote ourselves to thee. And we were all returning together to *Africa;* and when we came to *Ostia Tiberina* my mother died. I pass over many things, because I hasten much. Accept, O my God, my confessions and thanksgivings for innumerable things, even in this my silence. But I will not pass over what my soul is big with, concerning that handmaid of thine, who laboured for me, both in the flesh that I might be born into this temporal light; and in her heart, that I might be born again into light eternal. Not her's but thy gifts in her will I here relate; for she neither made herself, nor educated herself, but it was thou that createdst her; neither did her

* He was afterwards Bishop of Usala in Africa.

father or mother know what a one she would be when born of them, but it was the rod of thy Christ, the discipline of thy only Son, that educated her in thy fear, in a faithful family, a good member of thy church.

2. And for this her good education she was wont to extol not so much the diligence of her mother, as the care of a certain very old maid-servant, one that had carried her father when an infant on her back as great girls used to carry little children. For which reason, and for her old age, and excellent manners, she was much respected in that Christian family by her master and mistress. Whence also she had the care committed to her of her master's daughters, which she diligently discharged; using a holy severity when necessary in restraining them, and a sober prudence in directing them. For, excepting the set hours of their eating and drinking, and that very moderately, at their parent's table, she would not suffer them, however thirsty they might be, to drink so much as a little water, preventing, by this means, a bad custom; and adding this wholesome saying, "you are for drinking water, because wine is not in your power; but when you shall come to be married, and be mistress of the store rooms and the cellars, water will be despised, but the custom of drinking will stick by you."

3. By this prudent method of directing an authority of commanding, she bridled the evil inclinations of that tender age, and brought the

very thirst of the girls to that regular habit, that now they had not even an inclination to what was not proper for them. And yet there afterwards stole upon her, as thy servant related to me her son, there stole upon her, I say, by little and little, a love of wine. For when according to custom, she used to be sent by her parents, as a sober girl, to draw wine from the vessel, in taking it out with a cup, before she poured it into the flaggon, she used to put her lips to it and sip a little, because she could not take more her palate having a reluctance to it; for she did not do this out of any intemperate lust after drink, but out of certain overflowing excesses usual to that age, which boil up into little wanton tricks, and in young maids are used to be restrained and kept under by the gravity of their elders. Therefore, by adding to this little every day a little more, (*for he that despiseth little things falls by little and little*, Eccles. 19,) she had contracted such a custom, that now she would eagerly drink off little cups almost full of wine.

4. Where was now the discreet old woman, and that vehement prohibition? Would it have been of any efficacy against this secret disease, had not thy medicine, O Lord, been watchful over us? At a time when her father and mother, and those that had the care of her education, were all absent; thou that art always present, who hast created us, who callest us, and who, even by those that are wicked, bringest about some good for the salvation of our

souls what didst thou then do, O my God? How didst thou cure her? how didst thou heal her? didst thou not draw out a rude and sharp reproach from another soul, as a medicinal instrument out of thy hidden store, and with one stroke thereof cut away all that rottenness?

5. For a maid-servant, with whom she was used to go to the cellar, falling out with her young mistress, as it often happens, on a time when they two were alone, objected this crime to her with a most bitter insulting, calling her *wine-bibber*, with which reproach she being struck, opened her eyes to see the foulness of her fault, and presently condemned it, and forsook it. As flattering friends pervert us, so quarrelling enemies many times amend us. But thou wilt reward them, not according to the good which thou dost by them, but according to the evil that they intended. For this servant being angry, intended not to cure her young mistress, but only to reproach her and give her uneasiness; and did this secretly, either because such was the time and place when they happened to fall out, or lest, perhaps, she also might have been condemned for not having discovered the matter sooner. But thou, O Lord, the Ruler of all in Heaven and Earth, who turnest to thy uses even the depths of the torrent, and disposest the turbulent course of the world, so as to make it subservient to thy designs, didst by the madness of one soul reclaim another, that no one who com-

siders this may attribute it to his own power if by his words another be amended, whose amendment he desires.

CHAPTER IX.

ST MONICA'S DUTIFUL DEPORTMENT TOWARDS HER HUSBAND, PATRICIUS, WHOM SHE CONVERTS AT LENGTH TO THE CHRISTIAN FAITH.

1. BEING therefore chastely and soberly educated, and by thee made dutiful to her parents, rather than by her parents to thee; when, being now at proper age, she was given in marriage to her husband, she served him as her master, and laboured to gain him to thee, continually preaching thee to him in her virtuous qualities, in which thou hadst made her very beautiful, and reverendly amiable, and admirable to her husband. And as for the injuries done by him to her marriage-bed, she tolerated them in such manner as never to have any quarrel with her husband upon that subject. For she waited for thy mercy upon him, that by coming to believe in thee he might also become chaste.

2. He was, moreover, as on the one side very good-natured and loving, so on the other very hot and passionate. But she would never offer to oppose her husband, when he was angry, neither in deed, nor yet in word; but when his passion was over, and he was calm, when she found a fit opportunity she gave him an account of her action, if, perhaps, he had been incensed out of reason. And when some

other women, though matched to husbands less passionate than hers, bore the marks of their blows even on their disfigured faces, and would in their familiar discourses with her, be blaming the lives of their husbands, she, on her part, would blame their tongues; and, as it were in a jesting way, would soberly admonish them, that, from the time they had first heard the writings of the matrimonial contract read to them, they ought to have accounted them as indentures, whereby they were made servants; and being mindful of such their condition, they ought never to be haughty against their masters. And when they would wonder knowing what a choleric husband she had, that it was never heard, or any other way appeared that Patricius had at any time struck his wife, or that they had ever, for so much as one day, entertained any domestic dissension, and would familiarly inquire of her the reason thereof, she acquainted them with her method of proceeding mentioned above. And as many of them as followed this method rejoiced in the experience of the good of it; and those that did not follow it, continued still in their vexations and sufferings.

3. Her mother-in-law, also, who, by the tales and whispers of wicked maid-servants, was at first incensed against her, she so overcame by her obsequiousness and perseverance in patience and meekness, that of her own accord she disclosed to her son, by whose tongue it was that the peace of the family between

her and her daughter-in-law had been disturbed, and desired he would punish them. And thus, after that he, both in obedience to his mother, and out of the care of the discipline of the family, and of the union and concord of those that were so nearly related to him, had corrected, according to her desire, those she had complained of, she professed, that whosoever should, for the future, by way of pleasing her, speak any evil to her of her daughter-in-law, must expect the like reward; so that none thenceforward daring to do it, they ever after lived together with a remarkable sweetness and benevolence.

4. Thou hadst also bestowed this excellent gift on that good servant of thine, in whose womb thou createdst me, O my God, my mercy, that whenever she could, she rendered herself a peace-maker between any souls that were at variance and discord, in such manner, as although she heard from each of the parties many very bitter things against one another such as a swelling and undigested choler is used to produce, when the crudities of hatred are exhaled by sharp discourses to a friend that is present, concerning an absent enemy; yet she never disclosed any thing of one to the other, but what might be serviceable to the reconciling them together. This might have seemed to me a small matter, if sad experience did not show me great multitudes (from I know not what contagion of sin, which is exceedingly spread) that not only discover to

angry enemies the angry sayings of their enemies, but also add things which were not said whereas to a soul that has any thing of humanity, it ought not to be enough not to stir up nor increase, by evil speaking, the animosities and misunderstandings of other men; but one ought to endeavour to allay them, and extinguish them by well speaking. Such she was taught by thee, her interior master in the school of her heart.

5. She gained over also to thee her husband, in the latter end of his temporal life; and had then no longer occasion of lamenting in him, now a faithful Christian, those disorders which she had so long patiently endured before his conversion. She was also a servant of all those who were thy servants; and as many of them as knew her, praised thee very much, and honoured and loved thee in her; because they discovered thy presence in her, by the testimony of the fruits of her holy conversation. For she had been (1 Tim. 5,) *the wife of but one husband, she had rendered mutual duty to her parents, she had piously managed her own house, she had testimony of good works, she had brought up children*, as often labouring again in birth with them, as she perceived them to go astray from thee. Lastly, as for all us thy servants, O Lord, (for so thou permittest us to call ourselves by thy gift) who, before her going to rest, lived now together associated in thee, after having received the grace of thy baptism, she took as much care of us, as if she had been the

mother of us all, and served us as obsequiously as if she had been the daughter of us all

CHAPTER X

THE DISCOURSE BETWEEN HIM AND HIS MOTHER NOT LONG BEFORE HER LAST SICKNESS, CONCERNING THE HAPPINESS OF THE NEXT LIFE.

1. And when the day was near, that she was to depart out of this life, which day thou knewest, though we were not aware of it, it came to pass, (thy Providence I believe bringing it about by secret ways) that she and I were standing alone, leaning upon a window, that looked into the garden of the house where we were, in that town of Ostia upon Tiber; where, retired from company and noise, after the fatigue of a long journey, we were repairing our spirits for our voyage by sea: and there we two alone discoursed together very sweetly, and *forgetting those things which are behind, and stretching ourselves forth to those things that are before*, Philip 3, we were enquiring between ourselves in the presence of Truth, which is thyself, what the eternal life of the Saints shall be, *which neither eye hath seen nor ear hath heard nor hath it entered into the heart of man*, 1. Cor. 2. But yet we panted with the mouth of our heart after the heavenly streams of thy fountain, *the fountain of life which is with thee*, Psalm 35, that being sprinkled from thence, according to our present capacity, we might, in some small measure, conceive so great a thing.

2. And when our discourse had come thus far as to conclude that the greatest delights of the bodily senses, in any corporeal light, how great soever, were not to be compared, or even named, in respect to the pleasures of that life to come; arising ourselves yet higher, with a more ardent affection, in pursuit of that same, we ascended by several steps, through all corporeal things, and through that Heaven itself, from whence the Sun, Moon, and Stars illuminate the earth. And we went up still higher and higher, in our interior, thinking and speaking of thee, and admiring thy works; and we entered into our own minds, and passed them by mounting still higher up, that so we might reach that country of never-failing plenty; where thou feedest Israel for ever with the food of truth, and where the life is that Wisdom, by which all these things are made, and all things that have been, and all that shall be: but itself is not made, but so is, as it was, and so always will be; or rather, was and will be, agree not to it, but only is, because it is eternal; for to have been heretofore, or hereafter to be, is not eternal. And whilst we were speaking and panting after it, behold we just touched it a little with one whole spring, and beat of the heart; and we sighed, and we left the first fruits of the spirit fastened there, and so returned to the sound of our mouth, where our word hath its beginning and its ending. And what is there in this word of ours like to thy word, our Lord, which ever remains in

itself without becoming old, and which renew-eth all things?

3. And we said to one another: if any soul were to be still, and in perfect silence from all tumult and noise of the flesh, and from all impressions or images of the earth, water, or air; if the Heavens also were silent to her, and the soul were silent to herself, and should pass beyond herself, by having no thought of herself; and if dreams and all imaginary revelations were silent, and every tongue, and every sign, and whatever hath its being by passing away, were also absolutely silent: because if any one will hearken to them, they all say we did not make ourselves, but he made us who remaineth for ever: if, I say, after having said this, they should all be silent, having directed our ears to him that made them, and so he should speak alone, not by them, but by himself; that we might hear his word, not by the tongue of the flesh, nor by the voice of an Angel, nor by the sound of a cloud, nor by the obscurity of a similitude, but that we should hear his own self without any of these things, his own self, whom we love in all these things; as just now for a start, we had stretched out ourselves, and, with a swift thought, had touched upon that eternal wisdom, which is, above all things, permanent for ever: if such a thing, I say, were to be continued to us, and all other sights, of a far inferior kind, were to be withdrawn; and this one were totally to ravish, and swallow up, and engulph the beholder into its interior

joys, so that our life for ever should be such as that moment of intelligence was, for which we had sighed, whether this would not be what is written, St. Matt. 25, *enter into the joy of thy Lord.* And when this? Shall it be when *we shall all rise again, but shall not all be changed?* 1. Cor. 13.

4. Such things as these we spoke; and if not altogether in this manner, nor in these words, yet thou knowest, O Lord, that upon that day we discoursed upon such things; and whilst, amidst our talk, this world, with all its delights, appeared contemptible to us; she said to me, "son, for my part, there is nothing now in this life that gives me any delight. What I have to do here any longer or why I am here I know not, all my hopes of this world being now at an end. One thing there was for which I did desire to stay a little longer in this life, which was that I might see thee a Christian Catholic before I died. And my God hath granted me this more abundantly, in that I see thee now despising all earthly felicity, entirely devoted to his service. What have I now to do here?"

CHAPTER XI

HER SICKNESS AND DEATH.

1. To this what answer I made her, I don't well remember. But scarce five days or not many more had passed after this, before she fell into a fever: and one day being very sick

she swooned away, and was for a little while insensible: We ran in, but she soon came to herself again, and looking upon me and my brother [Navigius] that were standing by her, said to us like one inquiring, *where have I been?* then beholding us struck with grief, she said, *here you shall bury your mother.* I held my peace, and refrained weeping; but my brother said something by which he signified his wish, as of a thing more happy, that she might not die abroad, but in her own country. Which she hearing, with a concern in her countenance, and checking him with her eyes, that he should have such notions, then looking upon me, said, *Do you hear what he says?* then to us both, *lay this body any where; be not concerned about that; only this I beg of you, that wheresoever you be, you make remembrance of me at the Lord's Altar.* And when she had expressed to us this her mind with such words as she could, she said no more; but lay struggling with her disease that grew stronger upon her.

2. But I considering thy gifts, O my invisible God, which thou sowest in the hearts of thy faithful, and which bring forth admirable fruits, was glad, and gave thanks to thee, calling to mind what I had formerly known, how much concern she had always had about the monument which she had provided and prepared for herself near the body of her husband. For because they had lived together in great concord, she desired also (as the mind of man

is less capable of things divine) that this might be added to their former happiness, and might be commemorated by men, that it was granted her after her crossing the seas and living so long abroad, to have the same earth to cover the earth of her husband and her. And at what time that vanity by the fulness of thy goodness had ceased to be in her heart, I know not; but I admired and rejoiced at this change that she had now discovered to me. Although by that discourse we had before at the window, when she said, *what have I to do here any longer?* she did not seem to desire to die in her own country. And I heard afterwards, that when we were now at Ostia, she had one day been discoursing with some of my friends with the confidence of a mother, concerning the *Contempt of this life*, and the *Good there was in death*, at a time when I was absent: and that they admiring the virtue and courage of the woman, which thou hadst given her, asked her if she was not afraid to leave her body so far off her own city? To which she answered, *Nothing is far off from God: Neither do I need to fear that he should not know in the end of the world, whence he should raise me again* Therefore in the ninth day of her illness, the 56th year of her age and the 33d of mine, that religious and pious soul was loosed from the body

CHAPTER XII

ST. AUGUSTIN'S INWARD GRIEF AT THE DEATH OF HIS MOTHER, THOUGH OUTWARDLY REFRAINING FROM TEARS, TO WHICH AFTER HER BURIAL HE GIVETH SOME WAY

1. I CLOSED her eyes, and a very great grief came flowing in upon my heart, and thence began to flow out into tears; but my eyes by the forcible command of my son drank them up again, even unto dryness; and in this inward conflict I suffered much. As soon as she had breathed out her last gasp, the boy *Adeodatus* broke out into a loud lamentation, but being checked by us all he held his peace. In the same manner also something of the child in me which was tending towards weeping, was checked and silenced by the manly voice of my heart. For we did not esteem it decent to celebrate that funeral with lamentations and groans, because these for the most part are used by way of bewailing the misery of those that die, or as it were their total extinction. But as for her part, she neither died miserably, nor did she die at all as to her soul: this we were assured of from the purity of her manners, and the sincerity of her faith, and most certain arguments.

2. What was it then that gave me so much pain within, but a fresh wound received from the sudden breaking off the custom of our conversation together, which was very sweet and very dear to me. It was a pleasure to me

indeed, that in that same last sickness of her's, kindly taking notice of my services then performed towards her, she called me a dutiful son, and related with much tenderness of affection, that she had never once heard from my mouth any harsh or reproachful word towards her. But alas! O my God, who madest us, what comparison could there be between the honour I showed her, and the services she did to me? As then I was now left destitute of that great comfort I had in her, my soul was wounded and my life as it were rent in two which had been in a manner but one, made up of mine and her's.

3. The boy therefore being restrained from crying, *Evoidius* took up the *psalter*, and began to sing the 110th psalm, *Mercy and Judgment, I will sing to thee, O Lord:* and all of us that were in the house answered him. And many brethren and religious women hearing what was doing came to us. And whilst they, whose office it was, were after the usual manner taking care for the funeral, I going aside where I conveniently might discourse with those who thought it not proper to leave me then alone, upon such subjects as were suitable to that occasion. And with this fomentation of truth mitigated my pain well known to thee; though they that were there knew nothing of it, and heard me with attention, thinking me to be without any feeling of sorrow. But I in thy ears, O Lord, where none of them could hear me. was chiding at the

softness of my affection, and restraining the flood of my grief. And sometimes it yielded to me for a little, and then again with violence it rushed upon me; not so far as to discover itself by the bursting out into tears, not yet so far as to appear in the change of my countenance, but I well knew what I kept close in my heart. And because it displeased me extremely that these human things should have such power upon me, which in due order, and by the lot of our condition must needs fall out; I grieved for this my grief with another grief, and so was afflicted with a double sorrow.

4. And now behold the body is carried out to be buried; and I both go and return without tears. Neither in those prayers, which we poured forth to thee, when the sacrifice of our ransom was offered to thee for her, the body being set down by the grave, before the interment of it, as custom is there, neither in those prayers, I say, did I shed any tears; but all the whole day was in secret grievously sad, and with a troubled spirit begged of thee, as well as I could, that thou wouldst heal my sorrow, and thou didst not do it; I believe, because thou wouldst have me ever remember by this one experiment, how strong is the bond of any custom, even again a mind, which now is not fed with any deceitful word. It seemed also good to me to go and bathe myself, having heard that a bagnio was called *Balaneion* by the Greeks, from its driving away anxiety from the soul. Behold I confess this

also to thy mercy, O Father of Orphans, that I bathed myself, and was the same as before, for I could not thereby sweat out of my heart the bitterness of my grief.

5. After this I slept and awaked, and found my sorrow now not a little mitigated. And when I was alone in bed, I called to mind those most true verses of thy servant Ambrose for thou art,

> "O God, the World's great Architect,
> Who dost Heaven's rolling Orbs direct,
> Clothing the Day with beauteous Light,
> And with sweet slumber's silent Night:
> When wearied Limbs new vigour gain,
> From rest new labours to sustain:
> When hearts oppress'd do meet relief,
> And anxious minds forget their grief."

And then by little and little I brought back into my mind thy hand-maid, and her conversation so pious and holy towards thee, so kind and obseqious towards us, of which I was so suddenly deprived; and I had a mind to weep in thy presence concerning her, and for her, concerning myself, and for myself. And I let go my tears, which I had kept in before, that they might flow as much as they pleased, making a bed as it were of them for my heart, and I rested upon them, because there were thy ears only, and not of any man, who might perhaps proudly misconstrue my weeping.

6. And now, O Lord, I confess all this to thee in writing; let who will read it, and interpret it as he will And if any one shall find it

to have been a sin, that I thus wept for my mother, some small part of an hour; for my mother so lately dead from my eyes, who for so many years had wept for me, that I might live to thy eyes; let him not deride me for it, but rather, if his charity be great, let him weep also for my sins to thee, the common Father of all the brethren of thy Christ.

CHAPTER XIII

HE PRAYS FOR HIS DECEASED MOTHER, AND FOR HIS FATHER PATRICIUS.

1 AND now my heart being healed of that wound, in which a carnal affection might have some share, I pour out to thee, our God, in behalf of that servant of thine, a far different sort of tears, flowing from a spirit frighted with the consideration of the perils of every soul that dies in Adam. For although she, being revived in Christ, even before her being set loose from the flesh, and lived in such manner, as that thy name is much praised in her faith and manners: yet I dare not say that from the time that thou didst regenerate her by baptism, no word came out of her mouth against thy command. And it is said by the truth of thy Son, St. Matt. 5. *If any one shall say to his brother, thou fool, he shall be guilty of hell fire.* And woe even to the laudable life of men, if thou examinest it, setting aside thy mercy But because thou dost not so vehemently seek after our sins, we hope with confidence to find

some room for pardon with thee. And whosoever he be that can reckon up to thee his true merits, what else does he reckon up but thy gifts? O! that men would but know themselves; and that *he that glorieth would glory in the Lord*, 1 Cor. 10.

2. I therefore, O my praise and my life, the God of my heart, setting for a while aside her good deeds, for which with joy I give thee thanks, entreat thee at present for the sins of my mother; hear me, I beseech thee, through that Cure of our Wounds, that hung upon the Tree, and that sitting now at thy right hand maketh intercession to thee for us. I know that she did mercifully, and from her heart, forgive to her debtors their trespasses; do thou likewise forgive her her debts, if she hath alsc contracted some in those many years she lived after the saving water. Forgive them, O Lord, forgive them, I beseech thee, *enter not with her into judgment*, Psalm 143, but let *thy mercy exalt itself above thy judgment*, St. James 2. Because thy words are true, and thou hast promised mercy to the merciful; and by thy gift it was that they were such, who *wilt have mercy on whom thou wilt have mercy; and wilt show mercy to whom thou art pleased to show mercy*, Rom. 9. And I believe thou hast already done what I ask, but these free offerings of my mouth approve, O Lord.

3. For she, when the day of her dissolution was at hand, had no thought for the sumptuous covering of her body, or the embalming of

it, nor had she any desire of a fine monument, nor was solicitous about her sepulchre in her own country: none of these things did she recommend to us; but only desired that we should make a remembrance of her at thy altar, at which she had constantly attended without one day's intermission; from whence she knew was dispensed that Holy Victim by which *was cancelled that hand-writing which was against us*, Colos. 2, by which that enemy was triumphed over, who reckoneth up our sins, and seeketh what he may lay to our charge, but findeth nothing in him through whom we conquer. Who shall refund to him that innocent blood he shed for us? Who shall repay him the price with which he bought us, that so he may take us away from him? To the sacrament of which price of our redemption thy hand-maid bound fast her soul by the bond of faith.

4. Let no one separate her from thy protection. Let not the Lion and the Dragon either by force or fraud interpose himself. Because she will not plead that she owes nothing, lest so she should be convicted and seized upon by that crafty accuser; but she will plead that her debts have been discharged by him, to whom no one can repay what he who owed nothing for himself laid down for us. Let her therefore rest in peace, together with her husband, before whom and after whom she was known to no man; whom she dutifully served, bringing forth fruit to thee, in much patience,

that she might also gain him to thee. And do thou inspire, O Lord my God, do thou inspire thy servants, my brethren, thy children, my masters, whom I serve with my voice, and my heart and my writings, that as many as shall read this may remember at thy altar thy handmaid Monica with Patricius formerly her husband, by whose flesh thou broughtest me into this life, after what manner I know not. Let them remember with a pious affection these who were my parents in this transitory life, my brethren under thee our Father in our Catholic mother, and my fellow-citizens in the eternal Jerusalem, for which the pilgrimage of thy people here below continually sigheth from their setting out till their return. That so what my mother made her last request to me, may be more plentifully performed for her by the prayars of many, procured by these my confessions and by my prayers.

ST AUGUSTIN'S

CONFESSIONS

BOOK X.

CHAPTER I

HE PRAYS THAT HE MAY KNOW GOD.

Let me know thee, O Lord, who knowest me; let me know thee, as also I am known by thee. O thou virtue of my soul, enter into it, and make it fit for thee, that thou mayest have it and possess it without spot or wrinkle. This is my hope, and therefore do I speak, and in this hope I rejoice when I rejoice as I should do. But the other things of this life are so much the less to be bewailed, by how much the more they are bewailed; and by so much the more to be bewailed, by how much men bewail them less. For *behold thou hast loved truth*, Psalm 50. And *he that doth the truth cometh to the light*, St. John 3. I desire to do the truth in this my confession, both in my heart, in thy presence, and in my stile before many witnesses.

CHAPTER II

THE END AND FRUIT OF HIS CONFESSING THE REMAINING INFIRMITIES OF HIS PRESENT CONDITION TO GOD THAT KNOWS THEM.

1. And as to thee, O Lord, before whose eyes the bottomless depth of man's conscience lies naked, what could there be concealed in me, if I had no mind to confess to thee? For I should only hide thee from me, and not me from thee. But now when my groans bear witness, that I am displeased with myself, thou shinest out more bright and pleasant, and art loved and desired; that so I may be ashamed of myself and may throw away myself, and may make choice of thee; and neither pretend to please thee or myself, otherwise than in thee.

2. To thee, therefore, O Lord, I am manifest, whatever I am; and what fruit there is in confessing to thee, I have already showed. Neither is this done by the words of the flesh and outward sounds, but by the words of the soul, and the loud cry of the thought which is known to thy ear. For where I am evil, to confess to thee is nothing else but to be displeased with myself; and where I am good, to confess to thee is nothing else than not to attribute this to myself; for thou, O Lord, dost *bless the just man*, Psalm 4, but first, *thou justifiest him when wicked*, Rom. 4. My confession therefore, O my God, in thy sight is made to thee in silence, and yet is not silent. 'Tis

made in silence, with regard to the sound of the voice, but is not silent with regard to the affection of the heart. For neither do I speak any thing that is right to men, which thou dost not first hear from me, nor dost thou hear any such thing from me, which thou dost not first speak to me.

CHAPTER III

HE ENQUIRES INTO THE END AND FRUITS OF HIS MAKING KNOWN TO MEN IN THIS PUBLIC MANNER THE INFIRMITIES OF HIS PRESENT CONDITION.

1. But then what have I to do with men, that they should hear these my confessions, as if they were to heal all my infirmities? A race curious to know the lives of others, but careless to amend their own. Alas! why do they seek to hear from thee what a one I am, who will not hear from thee what they are themselves? and how do they know when they hear from me concerning myself, whether I tell them the truth, seeing no man knows what passes in man, but the spirit of man which is in him, 1 Cor. 2. But when they hear from thee concerning themselves, they cannot say, the Lord lieth. For what is it to hear from thee concerning themselves, but to know themselves? And who can know the truth concerning himself, and say, 'tis false, unless he lie unto himself? But because charity believeth all things, 1 Cor. 13, viz. amongst those whom it unites together by a mutual

bond; therefore I confess to thee in such manner as that men also may hear me, to whom I cannot demonstrate that I confess the truth, but they believe me nevertheless whose ears charity opens to me.

2. But thou that art my most interior Physician, be pleased to discover to me what fruit there is in this confession of my present condition. For as to the confessions of my past evils, which thou hast remitted and covered that thou mightest make me happy in thee, Psalm 31, changing my soul by faith and thy sacrament; when they are read or heard they excite the heart, that it may not sleep on in despair, and say, I cannot; but that it may awake in the love of thy mercy, and the sweetness of thy grace, by which he that is weak becomes strong, who by it is made conscious to himself of his own weakness. And good men are delighted when they hear the past evils of those who are now delivered from them; not that they take delight in the evils, but only because these evils have been and now are not.

3. But with what fruit, O Lord, my God, to whom my conscience maketh confession daily, much more secure in the hope of thy mercy than in its own innocence, with what fruit, I beg of thee, do I now in these my writings confess also to men in thy presence, not what I have been in times past, but what a one I am at present? For the fruit of confessing my past evils, I have seen and related. But what

a one I am now, at this very time of writing my confessions, many desire to know, both of those that have known me, and of those that have not known me, yet have heard something from me, or of me: but their ear is not near my heart, where I am whatever I am: and therefore they desire to hear me confessing to them what I am within, where neither their eye, nor their ear, nor their mind can penetrate. And this they desire, as being they cannot know. For that charity, by which ready to believe me, in those things which they are good themselves, persuades them that I don't lie in these things I confess of myself, and it is this charity in them gives credit to me

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CHAPTER IV.

HE DECLARES THE END AND FRUIT WHICH HE PROPOSES TO HIMSELF IN THIS CONFESSION.

1. But what fruit do they propose in desiring this? Is it because they would congratulate with me, when they shall hear how far I advance towards thee by thy gift; and again pray for me, when they shall hear how much I am still retarded by my own weight? To such as are thus affected, I will freely lay myself open. For this is no small fruit, O Lord, my God, that many should return thee thanks for us, and that many should pray to thee for us. Let such a brotherly mind love in me, whatever thou teachest ought to be loved, and

again bewail in me whatever thou teachest ought to be bewailed. Let that brotherly mind do this; not that of the foreigner, *of strange children, whose mouth has spoken vanity, and whose right hand is the right hand of iniquity*, Psalm 143, but that of the brother, which where it approves me, rejoices for me, and where it dislikes me, is sorry for me, because in both cases it loves me. To such I will freely discover myself; let them take pleasure in my good things, let them sigh in my evils. My good things are thy institutions and thy gifts; my evil things are my faults, and thy judgments. Let them take pleasure in those, and sigh at these; and let both hymns and lamentations ascend up before thy sight from their brotherly hearts thy censers. And thou, O Lord, being delighted with this sweet odour of thy holy temple, have mercy on me according to thy great mercy, Psalm 50, for thy name's sake; and forsake not what thou hast begun, but perfect what is as yet imperfect in me. This is the fruit of my confessions, not of my past, but present condition; not only to confess this before thee, with a secret joy accompanied with fear, and a secret grief with hope; but also in the ears of the believing sons of men, the companions of my joy, and co-partners of my mortality, my fellow-citizens, and my fellow pilgrims travelling before me, or behind me, or with me in this life.

2. These are thy servants my brethren,

whom thou wouldst have to be thy children: my masters, whom thou hast commanded me to serve, if I would live with thee. And it was not enough, that thy word should command me this by speaking to me, had it not also gone before me by doing it itself. And this is what I now endeavour, both by words and actions. I endeavour this under thy wings with exceeding great danger to myself, were it not under thy wings. My soul is subject to thee, and my weakness is known to thee. I am a little one, but my Father now and always liveth, and I have a very sufficient governor; for the same that is my father is my governor, and this is thyself who art all good things to me. Thyself, the Almighty, who art with me, and that before I was with thee. I will declare then to such as these, whom thou commandest me to serve, not what I have been, but what I now am, and what only as yet I am. Yet I don't hereby pretend perfectly to judge and discern myself, nor would I have them that hear me take me so.

CHAPTER V

HE ACKNOWLEDGETH HIMSELF UNABLE TO SEE OR CONFESS ALL THAT IS IN HIMSELF.

1 But thou, O Lord, art he that judgeth me. For although no man knoweth the things that are in man but the spirit of man which is in him, 1 Cor. 2, yet there is something in man, which even the spirit of man that is in

him does not know. But thou, O Lord, that hast made him knowest all things that are in him. But I, though I despise myself in thy presence, and esteem myself as dirt and ashes, yet know something concerning thee, which I know not concerning myself; and yet at present *we only see through a glass in a dark manner, not face to face*, 1 Cor. 13. And therefore as long as I sojourn here so far from thee, I am more present to myself than to thee; yet I know concerning thee, that thou canst in no manner be violated, or receive any hurt; but as for myself, what temptations I am able to withstand, and what not, I don't know. But my hope is, that thou art faithful, who will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength, but with the temptation will also make a way to escape, that we may sustain it, 1 Cor. 10. Let me confess then what I know of myself, and let me confess what it is that as yet I don't know of myself. Because what I know of myself, I know by thy light; and what I know not, I shall so long be ignorant of, till my darkness be made as the noon-day from thy countenance.

CHAPTER VI.

HE KNOWS HE LOVETH GOD; AND PROCEEDS TO EXAMINE WHAT IT IS HE LOVETH, WHEN HE SAITH HE LOVETH GOD.

1. Not with a doubting but with a certain conscience, O Lord, I love thee.—Thou hast wounded my heart with thy word, and I fell in

love with thee. Moreover, both Heaven and Earth, and all things that are in them, behold, on every side cry out unto me, that I should love thee, nor do they cease to say the same to all, that they may be without excuse. But yet in a higher way, thou wilt have mercy on whom thou wilt have mercy; and wilt show mercy to whom thou wilt show mercy, Rom. 9. Otherwise both Heaven and Earth will speak thy praises to the deaf.

2. But what then is it that I love, when I love thee? Neither the beauty of the body, nor the graceful order of time, nor the brightness of light so agreeable to these eyes, nor the sweet melody of all sorts of music, nor the fragrant scents of flowers, oils, or spices, nor the sweet taste of manna or honey, nor fair limbs alluring to carnal embraces. None of these things do I love, when I love my God. And yet I love a certain light, and a certain voice, and a certain fragrancy, and a certain food, and a certain embrace, when I love my God, the light, the voice, the fragrancy, the food, and the embrace of my inward man; where that shines to my soul, which no place can contain; and where that sounds which no time can measure; and where that smells, which no blast can disperse; and where that relishes, which no eating can diminish; and where that is embraced, which no satiety can separate. This it is that I love, when I love my God.

3. And what is this? I asked the Earth

and it said, *'tis not I.* And all things therein confessed the same. I asked the Sea and the deeps and the living things thereof; and they answered, we are not thy God, seek higher above us. I asked the fleeting air above; and the whole region of it with its inhabitants cried out, Anaximens *is mistaken, I am not God.* I asked the Heavens, the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars; neither are we, said they, the God whom thou seekest. And I said to all these things, which stand around the doors of my flesh, you have told me concerning my God, that you are not he, give me at least some tidings of him. And they all cried out with a loud voice, *it is he that made us.* My asking was my considering them, and their answering was the beauty I discovered in them. And I turned my eyes upon myself, and I said to myself, *and what art thou!* And I answered, *a man.* And behold in this man are presented to my consideration the body and the soul, the one exterior and the other interior. Now which of these it is by which (or in which) I ought to seek my God? whom I had already sought for by the body from the earth even to the Heavens as far as I could send my messengers the rays of my eyes. But certainly that is the better which is the more interior. For to this it was that those corporeal messengers (the senses) brought back their intelligence; to this presiding in me and judging of all those answers of Heaven and Earth and all things in them, when they said,

we are not God, but he made us. It was the interior man that knew these things by the ministry of the exterior. It was I within that understood these things; I the soul by the senses of my body.

4. I asked the whole world concerning my God, and it answered me, *I am not he, but he made me.* Doth not the world appear the same to all those whose senses are sound? Why then doth it not speak the same to all? Living creatures great and small see it: but they can ask it no questions, for there is not in them reason presiding, as judge of the discoveries of the senses. But men can ask these questions, that they may behold the invisible things of God, understanding them by the things that have been made by him, Rom. 1. But they are apt to be subject to them by love, and being subject to them cannot judge them; and they make not these answers but to the questions of those that judge them; neither do they change their voice, that is their figure, when one man sees them only, another both sees and put questions to them; so as to appear in one manner to one, and in another manner to the other; but appearing to both in the same manner they are dumb to one and speak to the other: or rather, they speak to all; but only those understand them who compare the voice which is received from without, with the truth within. For it is the truth that tells me, neither Heaven or Earth is thy God, nor any body And the nature of these things

telleth this to him that seeth them; for every bulk or body is less in the part than in the whole. Therefore thou art better, I speak to thee, my soul, than any body, for thou animatest the body, giving it life, which one body cannot give to another But thy God is still the life of thy life

CHAPTER VII.

HE PROCEEDS IN HIS SEARCH AFTER GOD, WHO IS NOT TO BE FOUND EITHER BY THE VEGETATIVE OR SENSITIVE FACULTY OF THE SOUL.

1. What is it then that I love when I love my God? Who is this that is above the head of my soul? By this very soul of mine I will ascend up to him. I will pass by that power by which I adhere to this body, and give life and motion to the whole fabric thereof. For 'tis not by this power I can find my God. Else a horse and a mule which have no understanding, Psalm 31, would also find him, for in them there is the same power, by which their bodies also live.

2. There is another power in me which giveth not life alone, but sense to my flesh, which the Lord hath framed for me; who hath ordered that the eye should not hear, and that the ear should not see; but that I should see by the eye, and hear with the ear; and in like manner hath assigned to the rest of the senses what is proper to each of them, in their several places and offices; which however diverse,

I being but one soul, act by them. I will pass by this power also, for the horse and mule have the same, which likewise are sensitive as well as I.

CHAPTER VIII

HE PASSES ON TO CONSIDER THE FACULTY OF THE MEMORY, THE MANY WONDERS OF WHICH, TO THE GLORY OF ITS MAKER, HE ENLARGES UPON IN THIS AND THE FOLLOWING CHAPTERS.

1. I WILL pass over then this faculty also of my nature, and I ascend higher, as it were by steps, till I find him that made me. And behold I come next into the spacious fields and vast palaces of my memory; where are treasured up numberless forms and images, conveyed in thither from such things as have been perceived by the senses; there also are reposited whatever thoughts we have formed, either by augmenting in our fancy, or diminishing, or any other way varying the things which our senses have discovered; and whatever other things have entered thither, which have not as yet been swallowod up and buried by oblivion. When I am here, I call for whatsoever I have a mind should be brought out; and some things appear as soon as they are called for; others are sought a longer time before they are found, and are fetched out as it were from some more secret repositories; others again thrust themselves out in crowds, and whilst I am calling for and seeking another

thing, will start up as if they said, *is it not us you want?* And I put them by with the hand of my heart from before the face of my remembrance, until the thing that I desire be unclouded, and come forth in my sight from its dark and hidden cell. Other things are presented, as they are called for, easily and in regular order, so that what goes before still gives place to what follows, and having given place is laid up again to be forth-coming another time when I shall have a mind. All which is done when I relate any thing by heart.

2. There all things are kept distinctly, and by their several kinds, which have been brought in by their several avenues; as light and all colours and forms of bodies, which have come in by the eyes; and all kinds of sounds through the ears, and all smells through the passage of the nostrils; and all tastes by the door of the mouth; and by the sense of feeling spread through the whole body, what is hard, what is soft, what is hot or cold, smooth or rough, heavy or light, either within or without the body. All these things are taken into the vast storehouse of the memory, and I know not what secret and inexplicable folds thereof, to be brought forth and reviewed, as there shall be occasion; and all of them come in by their respective gates, and are laid up in the memory. Not that the things themselves enter there, but their images are there ready at hand to our thought when it remembers them

3. Which images in what manner they are formed who can tell, tho' it is plain enough by which of the senses they have been received and brought in? For when I am both in darkness and in silence, I represent colours in my memory, when I please, and distinguish between white and black, and what others I please; neither do sounds come in and disturb what I am considering on, which has been taken in by the eyes; though they also be there all this while, and lie still in their proper repository: for I call for them also, if I please, and they come forth immediately. And though the tongue be quiet, and the throat silent, I sing there as much as I will; and those images of colours which are nevertheless there, don't intrude themselves nor interrupt me when I am surveying that other store which came in by the ears. Thus also the other things which have been brought in and stored up together by the other senses, I recall to mind as I please; and I distinguish the smell of lilies from that of violets, when I am smelling nothing; and prefer honey to new wine, and smooth to rough, not by tasting or touching either at that time, but by remembering only. All this I transact within the great hall of my memory.

4. There Heaven, Earth, and Sea are presented to me, with all things in them which my senses have ever perceived, such only excepted as I have forgotten. There I also meet with myself, and take a review of myself,

what I have done, when, and where, and how I was effected when I did it. There are all things formerly experienced by me, or believed upon the relation of others, so far as I remember them. From the same store I form also to myself, and add to those that are past, more and more things like to such as I have experienced; or believed from what I had experienced; and from these again I represent future actions, or events, or hopes; and meditate on them as if they were present. *I will do this or that* say I, within this vast bosom of my mind, full of the images of so many and so great things. *And the consequence of so doing will be this or that. Oh! if such or such a thing might be! And God forbid that this or that should happen.* Such things I say with myself; and when I say so, the images of all these are before me, out of the same treasury of my memory: neither should I say any of these things at all, if they were wanting.

5. Great is this power of the memory, exceeding great, O my God, an inward room, spacious and boundless: who can sound the bottom of it? And this is a power of my soul, and belongs to my nature; and I myself am not able to comprehend all that I myself am. The soul then is too narrow to contain itself, so that where it is, what it is it cannot comprehend. Is it then out of itself? Or is it not in itself? How then does it not contain or comprehend itself?

6. This is to me a subject of great wonder

I stand astonished at it. And men go a great way to see and admire the heights of mountains, and the vast billows of the sea, and the courses of great rivers, and the compass of the ocean, and the motions of the heavenly bodies, and leave themselves, and wonder not at themselves. Now when I named all these things I saw them not with my eyes; yet I should not have named them, if I had not then both mountains, and waves, and rivers, and stars which I have seen, and the ocean which I have heard of, represented in my memory, and that with their proper bulk and extension, as if I had seen them abroad. And yet when I saw them with my eyes, I did not draw in any of them, nor are they within me, but their images. And I know by which of the senses of the body I received their several impressions.

CHAPTER IX.

THE MEMORY OF THE RULES OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.

1. But these are not the only things which are lodged in this immense capacity of the memory. For here also are all those precepts of the liberal arts, which are not as yet forgotten, removed as it were into a more inward place, though indeed there is no place. And as for these, I carry about with me not the images of them, but the things themselves For what learning is, what the skill of disputing, how many kinds of questions there are; whatever I know of these things, is in such

manner in the memory, as that I have not kept only the image, and left the thing without me; or that like a voice it has sounded and then passed away, leaving behind it an impression made by the ears, by which it may be represented again as if it was sounding, when it is not sounding; or like a scent, which, whilst it passes and is dispersed in the air, affects the smell so as to convey into the memory its image, which by remembering, we may again call before us; or like meat which hath now no taste in the stomach, and yet still is, as it were, tasted in the memory; or as something which by the touch or feeling of the body is perceived, which when it is at a distance is still imagined as represented by the memory; for these things themselves are not let into the memory, but their images only are taken in with a wonderful celerity; and are there laid up, as it were, in wonderful cells, and no less wonderfully are fetched out again by the remembrance.

CHAPTER X

HOW SUCH THINGS ARE IN THE MEMORY AS DID NOT ENTER BY ANY OF THE SENSES.

1. But when I hear that there are three kinds of questions whether a thing be or no? and of what quality it is? I have indeed within me the images of those sounds, by which these words were formed, and I know that the sounds themselves passed through the air with

a noise, and are now no more; but as for the things themselves which are signified by those sounds, I did not meet with them by any of the senses of my body, nor ever saw them but in my own mind; and I laid up in my memory not their images but themselves. Which, how, or whence they came in to me, let them tell that can. For if I go through all the gates of my flesh, I cannot find by which of them they entered in.

2. For the eyes say, if they be clad with any colour, we have discovered them; and the ears say, if they made any noise or sound, we gave tidings of them: the nostrils say, if they had any smell, they passed through us: and the sense of the taste says, if they had any savour, ask me no questions about them; and the touch says, if they had no body I could not feel them, and therefore could give no notice of them. From whence then and by what way did these things enter into my memory I cannot tell how it was. For when I learnt them it was not by giving credit to another's judgment, but by acknowledging them in my own, and there finding them to be true. And so I recommended them to my memory, laying them up there, as it were, from whence I might call for them when I pleased. They were then within me, even before I learnt them; but they were not in my memory. Where then were they? or how did I know (when they were first mentioned to me) and readily acknowledge It is so, and it is true,

if they had not also been already in my memory? but so retired and removed out of the way, as it were, in certain hidden caves, that unless they had been drawn out by my being minded of them by some other man, I could never perhaps have thought on them.

CHAPTER XI.

WHAT IT IS TO LEARN SUCH THINGS AS ARE NOT DISCOVERED BY THE SENSES.

We find then that to learn such things as these (of which we don't take in the images through the avenues of the senses, but without any images see them within us as they are in themselves) is nothing else but to bring, as it were, together by thinking on them, and to take notice, by the application of one's mind to them, of such things as before were indeed in the memory, but without union or order; that so being now laid up, as it were, at hand in the same memory, where before they lay scattered and neglected, they may the more easily occur to our attention, to which they are now grown to be familiar. And how many things of this nature does my memory carry about, which are already found, and as I said laid up, as it were, at hand, which we are said to have learnt and to have known? Which if I should forbear for a long time calling them to mind, would again sink down in such manner, and, as it were, slip away into the more remote and abstruse apartments of the memo-

ry; that I must, in order to know them, think them out again, and gather them together within the same region (for they have no other) from that dispersion in which they lay scattered before. From whence thinking in *latin* is called *Cogito*, from *Cogo*, to gather or assemble, (as *Actito* is derived from *Ago*, and *Factito* from *Facio*) yet so that the mind has appropriated this word (*Cogito* to think) to itself, in such manner that no other *gathering or assembling* is called *Cogitation*, but that which is in the mind.

CHAPTER XII.

THE MEMORY OF THE MATHEMATICS NOT BORROWED FROM THE SENSES.

THE memory also contains the innumerable forms and rules of numbers and dimensions, none of which were imprinted by any sense of the body. For they have neither any colour, or sound, or smell, nor have they been either tasted or at any time touched. I have heard indeed the sounds of the words, by which they are signified, when they have been discoursed upon; but these sounds are one thing, and they are quite another; for the sounds are different in Greek from what they are in Latin; but the things themselves are neither Greek nor Latin, nor any other kind of speech whatsoever. I have also seen the lines drawn by workmen, and even such as have been most fine, like those of a spider's web; but those

are not the same ; nor are they the images of these which my corporal eye has discovered to me [but far more perfect.] He knows them, however without any thought of any kind of body, has acknowledged them within himself. I have also perceived the numbers which we reckon up with all the senses of my body ; but those by which we number are quite other things, neither are the images of these others, and therefore have a more perfect being. He may laugh at me whilst I am saying these things, who sees them not ; and I may have reason to pity him for laughing at me.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE MEMORY OF THINGS THAT HAVE PASSED IN THE MIND, AND OF THE AFFECTIONS OF THE SOUL

1. ALL these things I retain in my memory, and how I learnt them I also retain in my memory ; and many things I have heard, which in dispute have been very falsely urged against them, which also I retain in my memory ; which although they be false, yet my remembering them is no falsehood. And that I distinguished between those truths and these falsities which were said against them, this also I remember. And I see that I now discern these things in another way, than I remember myself formerly to have discerned them, when I thought upon them. Therefore I remember also that I have often thought upon these things ; and what I now discern

and understand I lay up in my memory, that I may afterwards remember that now I understood them. Therefore I also remember my having remembered. And if afterwards I should remember that I could not remember them, this also would be by the same faculty of the memory.

2. The same memory contains also the passions and affections of my soul, not in the same manner as the soul has them when she experiences them, but in another very different manner, proper to the power of the memory. For when I am not joyful I can remember my former joy; and at a time when I am not sorrowful I can remember my past sorrow; and I can reflect without fear upon my former fears. And can call to mind my former desires without desiring. Nay, sometimes, on the contrary, it is with joy I remember my past sorrow; and with sorrow I remember my former joys.

CHAPTER XIV

AN INQUIRY HOW WE REMEMBER THE PASSIONS OF THE MIND AT A TIME WHEN WE ARE NOT AFFECTED WITH THEM, BUT WITH QUITE OPPOSITE PASSIONS.

1. This would not be to be wondered at with regard to the body, for the mind is one thing, the body another. And therefore it is no such wonder that I should with joy of mind remember the past sorrow, or pain of the body. But here the wonder is because the memory

itself is the mind. Hence, when we recommend any thing to be remembered, we say, See you keep it in mind; and when we have forgot a thing, we say, It was in my mind, and it has slipt out of my mind, still calling the memory the mind. Which being so, what is the meaning of this, that when with joy I remember my past sorrow, there should be joy in my mind, and sorrow in my memory? And that my mind should be joyful from the joy that is there, and yet my memory should not be sorrowful from the sorrow that is there? For doth not the memory belong to the mind? Who can say this? Is then the memory, as it were, the stomach of the mind, and joy and sorrow like sweet and bitter meat; which when they are committed to the memory, like meats which are gone down into the stomach, may be reposited there, but cannot be relished there? It would be ridiculous to think that these things are alike; and yet they are not all together unlike.

2. But behold I bring it forth out of my memory, when I see there are four passions of the mind, desire, joy, fear, and sorrow; and whatsoever I can say concerning them by defining and dividing each of them into their different kinds, it is there [in the memory] I find it, and thence I fetch it out; and yet I am not disturbed by any of these passions whilst I am remembering and speaking of them. And they were there even before I was considering and surveying them, for otherwise I could not have

brought them out by remembering them. Perhaps then as meat is brought out of the stomach, by ruminating or chewing the cud, so these things are brought up out of the memory when they are called to our remembrance? But why then is not the sweetness of joy, or the bitterness of sorrow (in this kind of chewing the cud) felt in the mouth of the thought of him that discourses on them and remembers them? Or is it in this particular that these things are unlike, since they are not alike in all things? For who would ever willingly mention or speak of such things, if as often as we name sorrow or fear, we should be afflicted with sorrow or fear? And yet we should never speak of them if we did not find in our memory, not only the sounds of their names according to the images of them imprinted through the senses of the body, but also the notions of the things themselves, which we did not receive in through any of the doors of the flesh; but the mind itself perceiving them by the experience it hath of its own passions, recommended them to the memory, or the memory of itself retained them without their being recommended by any.

CHAPTER XV.

SOME THINGS WE REMEMBER BY THEIR IMAGES, OTHERS BY THEMSELVES

But now whether this be by the way of images or no, who can easily tell? For if I name a stone, or name the Sun, when the things themselves are not present to my senses, their images nevertheless are present to my memory. I name pain of body; the thing is not present, when I am not in any pain; and yet if the image were not in my memory, I should not know what I was speaking of, or distinguish it from pleasure. I name health of body, and when I am in health, the thing itself indeed is with me; but yet if the image of it was not also in my memory, I could by no means remember what the sound of these words signified: neither would the sick know when they hear health named, what was meant by it, unless that same image were retained by the power of the memory even when the thing itself is absent from the body. I name the numbers which we number; and they are present in my memory; not their images but themselves. I name the image of the Sun, and this same image is present in my memory. For 'tis not the image of this image which I have then before my mind, but this image itself. Itself is present to my remembrance. I name the memory, and I know what I name, and where do I know it but in the same me-

mory? Is the memory present to itself by its image; or is it not present by its own self?

CHAPTER XVI

THAT THERE IS A MEMORY ALSO OF OBLIVION OR FORGETTING

1. WHAT when I name oblivion, and know very well what it is that I name? Whence should I know it if I did not remember it? I speak not of remembering the sound of the word, but the thing that it signifies. Which thing if I had forgotten, I should not be able to know what that sound meant. Therefore when I remember memory, this same memory is by itself present to itself; and when I remember at once both oblivion and memory, oblivion is also at the same time present; memory, by which I remember, and oblivion, by which I do not remember. Yet what is oblivion but the privation of memory? How then must it present that I may remember it, when if it is present, I cannot remember? But whatever we remember we retain in our memory, and we certainly remember oblivion, or we could not upon hearing that name, know the thing signified by it; therefore oblivion also is retained in the memory. It is present therefore with us, that we may not forget; and its very being present is forgetting. Or are we to gather from hence, that oblivion, when we remember it, is not in the memory by itself, but by its image? For if it were there present

by itself, it would make us not remember but to forget.

2. And who can find this out? Who can comprehend how it is? Here, O Lord, I labour, and I labour in myself. And am become to myself a land of hardship and much sweat. For I am not now searching into the regions of the Heavens, nor measuring the distances of the stars; nor inquiring into the manner of the earth's being poised: for 'tis I myself that remember, I the soul. It is no such wonder that any thing should be far from my apprehensions that is not myself. But what can be nearer to me than myself? And behold the power of my memory is what I cannot comprehend, without which I cannot so much as name myself. For what shall I say, being certain as I am, that I do remember oblivion or forgetting? Shall I say, that the thing which I remember is not in my memory? Or shall I say, that this forgetting is in my memory, to the end I should not forget? Both are highly absurd.

3. What shall I say to that third thing, viz.: is that it is not oblivion itself but the image of it that is in my memory, when I remember it? But how can I maintain this, since when the image of any thing is imprinted in the memory, the thing itself must first be present, from whence the image may be imprinted? For 'tis in this manner that I remember Carthage, and all the places where I have been, and in this manner I remember the faces of the men whom I have seen, and the objects of the other

senses, in this manner I remember the health or pain of the body; when these things were present, my memory borrowed from them their images, which I might have present with me and survey in my mind, as often as I should afterwards remember the things themselves when absent. If therefore oblivion also be retained in the memory, not by itself, but by its image; it certainly must first have been present itself, that the image of it might be taken. Now when it was present, how could it imprint its image in the memory, when the nature of oblivion is to raze out by its presence what it finds already imprinted there? and yet however it is, though the manner of it be incomprehensible and inexplicable, certain I am, that I remember oblivion itself, which is that which covers and defaces what we have before remembered.

CHAPTER XVII

HE ADMIRES THE POWER OF THE MEMORY, BUT RESOLVES TO PASS BEYOND IT TO FIND HIS GOD

1. GREAT is this power of the memory, and something very astonishing, O my God; a profound and infinite multiplicity, and this is my soul, and this is myself. What a thing then am I, O my God? What a nature am I? A various and multiform life, and very incomprehensible. And behold through these innumerable fields, and dens and caverns of my memory, innumerably full of innumerable

sorts of things, (either by their images, as of all bodies; or by their presence, as of arts; or by, I know not what kind of notions or marks, as of the affections of the mind which the memory retains when the mind does not suffer them; whereas whatever is in the memory is in the mind) through all these things, I say, I run, I fly this way and that, I dive as far as I can, and no where can I find an end. So great is the power of the memory; so great the power of life in a man that lives a mortal.

2. What then shall I do, O thou my God, my true life? I will also pass beyond this power of mine, which is called the memory; that I may come to thee the sweet light, what sayest thou to me? Behold I am ascending by my soul unto thee, who remainest above me; and I will pass beyond this power of mine, which is called the memory: desirous to come at thee where thou mayest be come at; and to cleave to thee, where one may cleave to thee. For as to memory, I find it both in beasts and birds; otherwise they could not return to their dens or nests, or do many other things which they are accustomed to do; for neither would they be accustomed to any thing, but by the memory. I will therefore pass by this memory, that so I may arrive at him, who hath made me otherwise than the four-footed beasts, and wiser than the fowls of the air. I will pass beyond the memory. But where then shall I find thee, O true good, and secure delight, where then shall I find thee?

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE MEMORY OF THINGS LOST

1. If I find thee any where besides, or out of my memory, I must then remember thee not; and how then shall I find thee, if I have no remembrance of thee? When the woman had *lost her groat and sought it with a candle*, if she had not remembered it, how could she have found it? for when she had found it, how could she know that was it, if she had no remembrance of it? I remember my seeking after many things that I had lost, and that I have found them; whence do I know this? Because when I was seeking any of them, if any one should say to me, *is it not this or that?* I should answer, no, until that were brought forth which I sought after. Which if I had not remembered whatever it were, though it should be offered to me, I should not find it, because I should not know it. And so it always happens, when we seek after any thing that is lost, and find it.

2. But when a thing is only lost from the eyes, and from the memory, as any visible body, the image of it is kept within us, and by it the thing is sought till it be restored to our sight, and when it is found it is known by that image which is within. Neither do we say, that we have found what was lost, if we do not know the thing to be the same, nor can we know it, if we do not remember it. But this

was lost to the eyes, but still preserved in the memory.

CHAPTER XIX

OF REMEMBERING AGAIN THINGS THAT WERE FORGOTTEN.

1. But what shall I say, when the memory itself loseth a thing, as it happens when we forget something, and seek to remember it again? and where is it we seek it, but in the memory itself? And there if one thing be offered for another, we reject it, till that thing occurs which we are seeking, and when that occurs, we say, *this is it;* which we should not say, if we did not know it to be the same; neither could we know this, if we had not remembered it. Therefore we had not indeed forgotten it. Or shall we say the whole was not forgotten; but by the part which was still retained, the other part was sought for; because the memory perceived that she did not represent together the things she used to meet together, and halting as it were, by the cutting off some part of its accustomed object, called for that to be restored which was wanting? as when a man whom we know is seen or thought on, and we have forgot his name, and endeavour to recollect it, whatever other name occurs, it suits not, because it has not been used to be joined in our thought with him, and therefore it is rejected until that come up, which our thought has been used to represent

with him, and therein it rests without any unevenness; and whence does it come up, but out of the memory itself? For when upon being reminded of it by another, we again acknowledge it, it is from thence we have it. For we do not receive and believe it as something new, but remembering it, we approve of it, as being the thing we sought. But if it be utterly effaced out of the memory, we remember it not, even when we are told of it. Neither have we altogether forgotten a thing, if we can but remember that we have forgotten it. But what we have utterly forgot we cannot so much as seek for as a thing lost.

CHAPTER XX

ALL MEN DESIRE BEATITUDE. THEY MUST THEREFORE HAVE SOME NOTION OF IT; AND CONSEQUENTLY IT MUST HAVE A PLACE IN THEIR MEMORY.

How then do I seek thee, O Lord? For when I seek thee, my God, I seek a happy life. I will seek thee, that my soul may live: for my body lives by my soul, and my soul lives by thee. How then do I seek a happy life? For it is not with me, till I can say, *it is enough*, there where I ought to say so. How then do I seek it? Is it by the way of remembrance, as if it were a thing that I had forgot, but still retain in mind that I had forgotten it? Or is it by the way of desiring to learn a thing unknown, which I either never knew, or have so absolutely forgot, as not even to remember

that I have forgot it? But is not this happy life the thing that all desire, and there is no man that desires it not? Where then have they had any knowledge of it, that they should so desire it? Or where have they seen it, that they should be so much in love with it? We have it then, but after I know not what manner; and there is a certain other manner in which when any one hath it, he is then happy. And there are some that are happy in hope: these have it in a lower manner, than they who already are happy in deed; but yet are better than they, who are neither happy in deed nor in hope. Yet even these, if they had it not in some manner, would not be so desirous of being happy, which they must certainly desire.

2. They have got some knowledge of it, I know not how; and therefore they have it by I know not what sort of notion; of which I further inquire, whether it be in the memory or no? For if it be there, then we must some time or other have been happy. Whether every one in his own particular, or all in the person of him who first sinned, in whom we all died, and from whom we all are born with misery into this world, I do not examine at present. I only seek whether a happy life be in our memory? For we should not love it, if we had no knowledge of it. We hear this name; but it is the thing itself that we all profess to desire: for it is not the sound of the words with which we are delighted. For when a Grecian heareth this in Latin, he is

not affected with it, because he knows not what is said; but we are affected with it: as he also is when he hears the same in Greek For the thing itself is neither Greek nor Latin, which both Greeks and Latins, and men of all other languages are so eager after. It is known therefore to all, because if they could all by one word be interrogated, whether they desired to be happy, they would all answer without the least hesitation, that they desired it. Which they would not do, if the thing signified by that word was not retained in their memory.

CHAPTER XXI.

IN WHAT MANNER BEATITUDE, OR A HAPPY LIFE, IS IN THE MEMORY.

1. Is it then in their memory in such manner, as when a man remembers Carthage, which he has seen? No. For a happy life is not seen by the eyes, because it is no body. Or is it in the memory, as we remember numbers? No. For he that has these in his knowledge, seeks no longer for the acquiring of them. But we have a happy life in our knowledge, and therefore we love it, and nevertheless we want to acquire it, that we may be happy. Is it then in the memory, as we remember eloquence? No. For although they that as yet are not eloquent, upon the hearing that name remember the thing itself, and many of them desire eloquence, from whence it ap-

pears, that they have a knowledge of it. Yet these men have by the sense of the body observed others that were eloquent, and have been delighted therewith, and hence desire to be such. For were it not for that exterior knowledge, they would not have been delighted; and if they had not been delighted, they would not desire to be such themselves. But as for a happy life, we can have no experience of it in others by any of the senses of the body.

2. Is it then in the memory, as we remember joy? Perhaps it may be so. For I remember joy, even when I am sorrowful, as I do a happy life when miserable. Neither did I ever, by any sense of the body, either see, or hear, or smell, or taste, or touch my joy; but I have experienced it in my mind, when I have been joyful, and the notion of it stuck in my memory; so that I am able to remember it sometimes with contempt, sometimes with desire, according to the diversity of the things in which I remember myself to have rejoiced. For in sinful things I have experienced a kind of joy, which when I now remember I hate and detest; and I have had a joy in good and virtuous things, which I remember with desire, if perhaps these are not with me now; and therefore with sorrow I remember my former joy. Where then, and at what time have I had experience of a happy life, that I should remember it, and love it, and desire it? And not only I, or a few only with me, but all of

us, without exception, desire to be happy. Which if we did not know with an assured knowledge, we should never desire with so resolute a will.

3. But what is the meaning of this, that if you ask of two men, whether they will serve in the wars, it may be one shall answer that he will, the other that he will not. But if you ask of them whether they desire to be happy? both without the least hesitation shall answer, that this is what they desire: and that for no other reason, one is willing to serve, the other is unwilling, but that they may both be happy; is it perhaps, because one man finds joy in one thing, another in another thing; all agree in affirming that they desire to be happy, in the same manner as they would all agree, if they were asked, in affirming that they desire to have joy, and that this same joy is what they call a happy life? Which joy though one man seeks in this, another in that, yet this one thing all aim at, viz.: that they may rejoice; which being a thing that no man can say, he has not experienced, therefore it being found in the memory is known again, when we hear the name of a happy life.

CHAPTER XXII.

A HAPPY LIFE IS JOY IN GOD.

FAR be it, O Lord, far be it from the heart of thy servant, who confesseth to thee, far be it from me to think that every sort of joy can

make me happy. For there is a joy, which is not given to the wicked, but to them who freely worship thee, whose joy thou thyself art. And this beatitude, or a happy life, to rejoice to thee, in thee, and for thee: this is it, for there is no other. But they that think there is some other beatitude seek after some other joy, which is not true, and yet their will still follows some image at least, or resemblance of joy.

CHAPTER XXIII.

WHY MEN ARE NOT HAPPY, NOTWITHSTANDING THEY ALL IN SOME MEASURE LOVE THE TRUTH, AND REJOICE IN IT

1. Is it not then certain that all desire to be happy; because as many as will not rejoice in thee, which alone is a happy life, will not indeed a happy life? or do all will this? But because the flesh lusts against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh, Gal. 5, so that they do not do what they will; they fall upon that which they are able to do, and are content with it; because that which they are not able to do, they do not will so much as is sufficient to make them able. For I ask of them all, whether they had rather rejoice in the truth or in falsehood? and they make as little hesitation in answering that they had rather rejoice in the truth, as they do in saying, that they desire to be happy. For a happy life is joy in the truth. And this is joy in thee, who art the

truth, O God, my light, the health of my countenance, my God This happy life all desire; this life, which alone is happy, all desire; all desire joy in the truth. I have met with many that are willing to deceive, but not one that had a mind to be deceived. Where then have they had a knowledge of this happy life, but only where they have known the truth? For this also they love, because they are not willing to be imposed upon by falsehood. And when they love a happy life, which is nothing else but joy in the truth, they must needs also love the truth. Nor would they love it, if they had not some knowledge of it in their memory.

2. Why then have they not a joy in it? and why then are they not happy? because they are more strongly occupied in other things, which rather make them miserable, than that which can make them happy, of which they have but a slender knowledge. For as yet there is but little light in men: O let them walk, and walk on, lest the darkness overtake them, St. John 12. But why does truth often bring forth hatred? and why did thy servant become an enemy to men preaching the truth, Gal. 4. Since all men love a happy life, which is nothing else but joy in the truth? because truth is so loved, that whosoever love any thing else, would have that to be truth which they love. And because they are not willing to be imposed upon by falsehood, they are not willing to be convinced that they were

thus imposed upon. Therefore they hate the truth, for the sake of that thing which they love instead of truth. They love the truth when it shines upon them, and they hate it when it reproves them. For because they are unwilling to be deceived, and willing to deceive; they love the truth when it discovers itself; and they hate it when it discovers themselves. And therefore they are justly repaid, that they who are unwilling to be made manifest by the truth, shall be manifested by it against their will; and the truth itself shall not be manifested to them. Thus, even thus, the mind of man, yea, even thus, being blind and sick, and filthy and impure, it would fain lie hid; and is not willing that any thing should lie hid from it. The contrary justly happens to it, that itself cannot lie hid from the truth, and the truth lies hid from it. And yet however miserable it is, even so it rather chuses to rejoice in true things than in false. But then only will it be truly happy, when without any impediment or distraction it shall rejoice in that only truth by which all things are true.

CHAPTER XXIV

THAT GOD ALSO IS IN THE MEMORY.

Behold how far have I travelled in my memory, seeking thee, O Lord; and I have not found thee out of it. For neither have I found any thing concerning thee, which is not in my

memory, since I first learnt thee; for since I first learnt thee, I have not forgot thee. For where I found the truth, there I found my God, who is the truth itself; which since I first learnt I have not forgot. Since then I first learnt thee, thou abidest in my memory: and there I find thee, when I remember thee, and am delighted in thee. These are my holy delights, which thou hast bestowed upon me by thy mercy, having regard to my poverty.

CHAPTER XXV.

HE ENQUIRETH IN WHAT PART OF THE MEMORY GOD DWELLETH.

But where dost thou, O Lord, abide in my memory? where is thy residence there? what kind of lodging hast thou made there for thyself? What kind of sanctuary hast thou there built for thyself? thou hast vouchsafed this honour to my memory, to take up thy abode therein; but in what parts thereof thou art lodged, is what I am now considering. For I passed beyond the lower parts thereof, which are common with beasts, when I remembered thee, for I found thee not there amongst the images of corporeal things, and I came to those parts thereof, where are laid up the affections of my mind, neither could I find thee there; and I entered into the lodging of my mind itself, which is also there in my memory, because the mind remembers also itself; and neither wast thou there: for as thou art not a

corporeal image, nor an affection of the mind, such as we experience when we rejoice or are sorrowful, when we desire or fear, when we remember or forget or the like; so neither art thou the mind itself, because thou art the Lord God of the mind. And all these things are changed, but thou remainest for ever unchangeable, high above all things, and yet thou hast vouchsafed to dwell in my memory from the time that I first learnt thee. And why do I inquire in what place thou dwellest there, as if there were any place there? Thou dwellest there for certain, because I remember thee, ever since I learnt thee, and I find thee there whenever I call thee to mind.

CHAPTER XXVI.

HE FOUND GOD NO WHERE BUT IN GOD HIMSELF

WHERE then did I find thee, that I might learn thee? For thou wast not in my memory, before I learned thee, where then did I find thee that I might learn thee, but in thyself above me? And here is no such thing as place, and we depart from thee, and we approach to thee, and yet here is no where place. Thou, the Truth, residest every where, giving audience to all that consult thee; and at the same time giving answer to all, though they consult thee upon ever so many and diverse things. Thou answerest clearly unto all; but all do not hear thee clearly; all consult thee

upon what they please, but hear not always from thee what pleaseth them. He is thy best servant, who desires not so much to hear, from thee what may be conformable to his own will, but rather to conform his will to whatever he shall hear from thee.

CHAPTER XXVII.

HE LAMENTS HAVING LOVED GOD SO LATE

Too late have I loved thee, O Beauty so ancient, O Beauty so new, too late have I loved thee! And behold thou wast within, and I was abroad, and there I sought thee; and deformed as I was, ran after those beauties, which thou hast made. Thou wast with me, and I was not with thee: those things kept me far from thee, which could have no being but in thee. Thou hast called, thou hast cried out, and hast pierced my deafness. Thou hast lightened, thou hast shone forth, and hast dispelled my blindness: thou hast sent forth thy fragrancy, and I have drawn my breath, and pant after thee: I have tasted thee, and am hungry after thee: thou hast touched me, and I am all inflamed with the desire of thy embraces.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

HE BEWAILS HIS PRESENT MISERY, IN WHICH HE CANNOT ENJOY A PERFECT UNION WITH HIS GOD.

1. When I shall adhere to thee with my whole self, then shall I no where meet with any sorrow or labour; and my life shall be truly alive when quite full of thee. But now, inasmuch as every one whom thou fillest, thou also bearest him up, because I am not full of thee, I am a burthen to myself. My joys that ought to be lamented, contend with my sorrows, in which I ought to rejoice; and to what side the victory inclines, I know not, alas! Alas! have pity on me, O Lord.—Again, my evil sorrows contend with my good joys; and on which side the victory stands, I know not. Alas! O Lord, have thou pity on me; behold, I hide not my wounds. Thou art my physician, I am sick: thou art merciful, I am miserable. Is not *man's life a temptation upon earth*, Job 1.

2. Who can be in love with such troubles and difficulties? Thou commandest that they should be endured, but not that they should be loved. No one loves what he endureth, though he loves to endure it. For though he is glad that he patiently suffers it, yet he had rather not have it to suffer. In adversities I long for prosperities, in prosperities I apprehend adversities: what middle station is there between these, where man's life can be without temptation? There is a woe to the pros-

perities of the world, from two things, viz. from the apprehension of adversity, and the corruption of joy. And there is a woe to the adversities of the world from three heads, viz. from the longing after prosperity, from the uneasiness of the adversity itself, and from the frequent shipwreck of patience. Is not then man's life upon earth a continual temptation without any intermission?

CHAPTER XXIX

HIS WHOLE HOPE IS IN GOD, TO WHOM HE PRAYS FOR CONTINENCY

And now my whole hope is in nothing else but in thy exceeding great mercy, O Lord, my God. Give me what thou commandest, and command me what thou wilt. Thou commandest me continency. *And when as I knew* (faith one, *Wisdom* 8.) *that no man can be continent unless God give it; and this also was a part of wisdom to know whose gift this was.* For by continency we are recollected and brought back to one thing, from which we had been dissipated, and split upon many things. For he loveth thee less, who loveth any thing else with thee, which he loveth not for thee. O Love, which always burnest, and art never extinguished! true Charity, my God, set me all on fire. Thou commandest continency. Give me what thou commandest, and command what thou wilt.

CHAPTER XXX.

HE EXAMINES HIMSELF, AND CONFESSES HIS REMAINING INFIRMITIES AND TEMPTATIONS: AND, FIRST, AS TO THE CONCUPISCENCE OF THE FLESH.

1. THOU commandst me continency, both from the *concupiscence of the flesh, and from the concupiscence of the eyes, and from the ambition of the world*, 1 St. John 2. And first thou hast commanded me continency from carnal concubinage; and as to marriage itself, thou hast counselled me something better, than what thou hast allowed. And because thou hast given it, it hath been observed by me, even before I was made a dispenser of thy Sacrament. But yet there live still in my memory, of which I have spoken so much, the images of such things, which my former custom has fixed there; and these still come in my way; though without any strength when I am awake; but when I am asleep they are more prevalent, not only to delectation, but even to consentment, and in fact very like unto them. And so much power hath the delusion of these images in my soul and in my flesh, that such false representations persuade me, when asleep, to what true sights, when I am awake, no way entice me. And is it not then also the same I, O Lord, my God? And yet there is so much difference between myself and myself; between the moment that I pass from hence to sleep, and that when I return to wake.

2 Where is then that reason, by which my

mind, when awake, resists such suggestions, and if the things themselves present themselves before me, remains unmoved? Is it shut up together with the eyes? Is it lulled asleep together with the senses of the body? How comes it then, that even in our sleep we oftentimes resist, and being mindful of our resolution, and chastely by persevering in it, give no manner of assent to such allurements? And yet there is so great a difference, that when it happens otherwise, as soon as we wake we return to the repose of conscience, and by the difference we discover that we have not done that, which we are grieved should be any ways done in us. Is not thy hand, O God omnipotent, able to heal all the infirmities of my soul; and, with a more abundant grace, to extinguish also these lascivious motions of my sleep?

3. Thou wilt increase, O Lord, more and more in me thy gifts, that my soul may follow me towards thee, disengaged from the birdlime of concupiscence, that it may be no more a rebel to itself; and that even in sleep it may not only not act any such filthiness of corruption by those seducing images, unto the flux of the flesh; but yield no manner of consent to them. For that nothing of this nature should give me the least pleasure (even so much as what may be restrained at will,) or be any ways harboured in my chaste affection when asleep, not only in this life but also in this age, is no great matter for the Almighty to grant,

who art *able to do above all that we ask or understand*, Eph. 5. But now what I am as yet in this kind of my evil, I have confessed to my good Lord; rejoicing with fear in what thou hast already given me; and mourning for that in which I am yet imperfect; hoping that thou wilt perfect thy mercies in me, till I arrive at that full peace which both my interior and exterior shall then enjoy, when *death shall be swallowed up in victory*, 1. Corinthians 15.

CHAPTER XXXI

HIS REMAINING INFIRMITIES, WITH REGARD TO THE TEMPTATIONS OF THE TASTE, IN SENSUALITY AND INTEMPERANCE OF EATING.

1. THERE is another *evil of the day*, and would to God the day were *sufficient for it*, St. Matt. 6. For by eating and drinking we are obliged to repair the daily ruins of the body, until thou destroy both the meats and the belly, 1 Cor. 6, when thou shalt slay our indigence by an admirable satiety; and shalt clothe this corruptible with eternal incorruption, 1 Cor. 15. But now this necessity is pleasant to me, and against this pleasure I fight, that I may not be inveigled by it; and I wage a daily war against it by fasting, often bringing my body into subjection, Cor. 9, and these pains are removed with pleasure. For hunger and thirst are pains; and like a fever they burn and kill, unless they be removed by the physic of our nourishment; which because it is always

at hand, from the comfort of thy gifts, with which both the land and the water and the air supply our infirmities, these our calamities are called delights.

2. This thou hast taught me, that I should come to take this nourishment, as a medicine. But whilst I am passing from the uneasiness of hunger to the satisfaction of being filled, the snare of concupiscence lieth in wait for me in the way; for the very passage itself is a pleasure: and there is no other way to pass but this, to which necessity obliges me. And thus, whereas health is the cause of eating and drinking, yet there is a dangerous delight comes in as an attendant, and for the most part endeavours to go before, that for its sake, should I do, what I pretend and desire to do only for health's sake. Nor are both of these content with the same allowance: for what is sufficient for health is too little for delight. And many times it becomes uncertain, whether it be the necessary care of the body that requires a further supply, or the voluptuous deceit of concupiscence that calls for this allowance. And the unhappy soul grows glad of this uncertainty, and prepares herein the protection of an excuse, being pleased that it does not appear what is exactly proportioned for the maintaining of health, that under the cloak of health, she may recover the indulging her pleasure.

3. These temptations I daily strive to resist; and I invoke thy right hand to my assistance;

and to thee do I refer my anxieties; for I am yet to seek for counsel in this matter. I hear the voice of my God commanding me, St. Luke 21. Let not your hearts be overcharged with intemperance of eating and drunkenness. Drunkenness is far, far from me; thy mercy will keep it from ever coming near me: bu intemperance in eating sometimes steals upon thy servant; thy mercy will remove it far from me; for no one can be continent unless thou givest it, *Wisdom* 8. Thou grantest many things to our prayers: and what good we receive before we pray for it, from thee we receive it: and that we afterwards know and acknowledge our receiving these things from thee, is also thy gift. I never was a drunkard, but I have known drunkards that have been made sober by thee. Therefore it was thy work, that they should not be so, who never were such; and thy work that they should not be always so, who for some time had been such; from thee also it was, that both should know, that this was thy work.

4. I have also heard another voice of thine, Eccles. 16. *Go not after thy concupiscences, and turn away from thy pleasure.* I have heard also that sentence by thy gift, with which I was much taken: 1 Cor. 8. *Neither if we eat, shall we abound; neither if we eat not, shall we lack.* That is to say, neither shall the one make me happy, nor the other miserable. Again, I have heard, Philip. 4. For I have learnt in what things I am to be content;

know both how to abound and how to suffer need; I can do all things in him that strengtheneth me. See here a soldier of the heavenly camp, and not such dust as we are. But remember, O Lord, that we are dust, and out of dust thou madest man, and he was lost and is found. I can do all things, saith he, in him that strengtheneth me; strengthen thou me, that I also may be able. Give what thou commandest, and command what thou wilt. He confesses that he has received this from thee, and what he glorieth of he glorieth of in the Lord, 2 Cor. 10. I have heard another praying that he might also receive, Eccles. 23. Take thou from me, saith he, the concupiscences of the belly. Whence it appears, my holy God, that thou givest when it is done, what thou commandest to be done. Thou hast taught me also, O my good father, that all things are clean to them that are clean; but it is evil to the man that eateth so as to give scandal or offence. Romans 14. And that every creature of thine is good, and nothing to be cast away that is received with thanksgiving, 1 Tim. 4. And that meat doth not commend us to God, 1 Cor. 8. And that no man should judge us in meat or in drink. Col. 2. And that he that eateth should not despise him that eateth not; and that he that eateth not, should not judge him that eateth, Romans 14. These things I have learnt, thanks be to thee; praises to thee, my God, my master, who knockest at my ears, and enlightenest

my heart. Deliver thou me from all temptations.

5. 'Tis not then the uncleanness of the food I fear but the uncleanness of irregular desire. I know that all kind of flesh that was good to be eat was permitted to Noah, Gen. 9. That Elias was fed with flesh meat. 3 Kings, 17. That John, though a man of wonderful abstinence, was not defiled by using living creatures, viz.: Locusts, for his food, St. Matt. 6. And again, I know that Esau was deceived by the concupiscence of lentils, Gen. 25. And David reprehended by himself for the desire of a draught of water, 1 Chron. 11. And that our king was tempted, not in a matter of flesh, but only bread, St. Matt. 4. And therefore also the people in the wilderness were justly condemned, Numb. 11, not barely for their desiring flesh, but because through the desire of flesh, they murmured against the Lord. Being therefore placed, as I am, in the midst of these temptations, I fight every day against the concupiscence of eating and drinking. For it is no such thing as I can resolve to cut off at once, and touch no more, as I could do with regard to concubinage. Therefore the reins of the throat are to be held with a just and even hand, so as neither to be too loose nor too strait. And who is he, O Lord, who is not carried sometimes a little out of the bounds of necessity? Whoever he is, he is great, and let him magnify thy name, but I am not the man, for I am a sinful man. And yet I also

magnify thy name. And he intercedes to thee for my sins who hath overcome the world, St. John 16, numbering me amongst the weaker members of his body, because that which is imperfect in me, thine eyes have seen ; and in thy book all shall be written, Psalm 138.

CHAPTER XXXII.

CONCERNING THE TEMPTATION OF THE SMELL

As for the allurement of sweet odours, I am not much concerned. When they are absent, I want them not ; when they are present, I refuse them not ; yet so as to be ready to be always without them. Thus it seems to me to be with me ; but perhaps I am mistaken. For this darkness is to be lamented, in which I cannot discern what ability there is in me ; insomuch that my own mind, questioning itself concerning its own strength, knows not well how to believe itself; because much of that, which is in it, lies concealed from it, till experience discovers it : and no man must be secure in this life (which is all named a temptation, Job 7,) lest as he may have been made of worse, better, so he may become of better, worse. Our only hope, our only confidence, our only security is thy mercy.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

HIS REMAINING INFIRMITIES WITH REGARD TO THE TEMPTATION OF THE EARS IN MUSIC

1. The pleasures of the ears had more strongly entangled me, and captivated me, but thou hast loosed these snares, and set me at liberty. Yet even now I confess I take some satisfaction in the melody of those sounds, which are enlivened by thy words, when these are sung with a sweet and skilful voice; yet not so far as to be engaged in them so, but that I can disengage myself at pleasure. However, coming as they do, together with these sentences, which animate them, and procure their admittance, they are apt to seek a place of some respect in my heart, and I find some difficulty in giving them one that is exactly suitable. For I seem to myself, sometimes to allow them more honour than is becoming; when I find my mind more religiously and ardently raised to a flame of devotion by those holy words when they are sung in that manner, than when they are not sung; and that all the affections of my spirit, according to the great variety of them, seem to have in the voice and in the singing their proper notes answerable to each of them, by which they are stirred up by a certain secret familiarity and sympathy. But the pleasure of the flesh, which ought not be allowed to enervate the mind, often deceives me: whilst the sense is not content to wait upon reason in such manner as patiently to fol-

low it; but whereas it is only admitted for its sake, it will needs strive to get the start and run before it. Thus in these things I sin, without perceiving it, but afterwards I perceive it.

2. Sometimes again, being too immoderately fearful of this deceit, I err on the other side by too much severity. Yea, very much sometimes, so that I could wish all that melody of sweet tunes, in which David's Psalter is usually sung, were banished from my ears, and from the Church; and then that method seems to me the more safe, which I remember to have often heard of Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, who caused the Lector to intone the Psalms with so small an inflection of the voice, that it was more like reading than singing. But then again, when I call to mind those tears which I shed at the singing of the Church Hymns, in the beginning of my conversion; and how much I am now also moved, not with the singing, but with the things that are sung, when they are delivered with a clear voice, and a most agreeable modulation, again I acknowledge the great benefit of this institution.

3. Thus I float between the danger of pleasure and experience of profit; and am rather inclined (yet not with an irrevocable judgment) to approve the custom of singing in the church, that by the delight of the ears weaker souls may be raised to the affection of devotion. Yet when it happens to me that I am more moved

with the singing, than with the thing that is sung, I confess my sin, and am sorry for it, and then I had rather not hear the singing. Behold where I am. Weep with me, and for me, you, who are doing something of good with yourselves within, from whence proceed our actions. For you, who are not doing so, are little moved with these things. But thou O Lord, my God, look down upon me, graciously hear me, see, and pity and heal me; in whose sight I am thus become a question to myself, and this is my malady.

CHAPTER XXXIV

HIS REMAINING INFIRMITIES WITH RELATION TO THE TEMPTATIONS OF THE EYES.

1. THERE remains yet the pleasure of these eyes of my flesh, of which I will now make my confessions to be heard by the ears of thy temple, those brotherly and loving ears; that so we may conclude, the temptations of the concupiscence of the flesh, which still molest me, whilst I am sighing and desiring to be clothed upon with my house from Heaven, 2. Cor. 5. The eyes love fair and various figures, bright and pleasant colours. Let not these things have any hold upon my soul. Let God alone possess it, who made these things, exceeding good indeed, but he is my good, not they. And these things accost me, when awake, all the day long; neither do I find any respite from them, as I do from melodious

voices, and sometimes from all other sounds, as when I am in silence. For this very light itself, the queen of colours, overspreading all things that we see, when I am any where in the day, many ways flowing in upon me, flatters me and inveigles me, when I am doing something else, and not observing it. And so vehemently doth it insinuate itself, that if on a sudden it be withdrawn, it is impatiently longed for again, and if it be a long time absent it contriastates the mind.

2. But O that light, which Toby beheld, when with his eyes closed he taught his son the way of life, Tobit 4, and walked before him with the feet of charity, without making one false step! or which Isaac saw, when his carnal eyes being dim with age, Gen. 27, he blessed his sons not knowing them, but in blessing them was so happy as to know them; or which Jacob saw, when he also being blind by great age, with an enlightened heart foreshowed the conditions of the several people that should descend from his sons, Gen. 49. And when he imposed his hands mysteriously crossed upon his grandchildren by Joseph, not as their father outwardly directed, but as he inwardly discerned! This is true light, and it is one, and never changes; and all they are one that behold it and love it. But that other corporeal light, of which I have been speaking, seasons the life of this world for its blind lovers with an inveigling and dangerous pleasure. But those who know how far from it to

give thee glory, O God, the Creator of all things, spend it in thy praise, and are not caught by it in their sleep. And such I desire to be.

3. I resist the seductions of the eyes, lest my feet, with which I am entering upon thy way, should be entangled, *and to thee I lift up my inward eyes that thou mayest pull my feet out of the snare*, Psalm 24. And thou, from time to time dost disengage them, for they are often ensnared. Thou ceased not to loose them when they are sticking in these nets, which are prepared for them on all sides, because *thou will neither sleep nor slumber who art the keeper of Israel*, Psalm 120. For what innumerable inventions by divers arts and manufactures, in clothes, shoes, vessels, and such like handicrafts, in pictures also and several sorts of images (and these going far beyond the necessary and modern use, and pious signification) have men added to the allurements of the eyes? Abroad doating on what they have made, within forsaking him by whom they were made, and defacing that which they were made.

4. But I, O my God, and my glory, even from these things do now sing a hymn to thee, and to sacrifice praise to my sanctifier. For all these beauties, which pass from the soul to the skilful hands of artists, are derived from that beauty, which is above the soul, after which my soul sighs day and night. But the artists and admirers of these exterior beauties,

whilst they take from that first beauty the rule of approving them, do not take from thence the rule of using them. And there it is, and they do not see it, so as to stop there and go no farther, and to *keep their strength for thee*, Psalm 57, and not to scatter it abroad upon wearisome pleasures. And as for me, who am speaking and discerning these things, I am also apt to have my steps entangled in these beauties, but thou pluckest them out, O Lord, thou pluckest them out, because thy mercy is before my eyes. For I fall into these snares through my misery; and thou drawest me out again through thy mercy, sometimes without my perceiving it when I have only slept upon them, and sometimes with pain to me, when I have stuck fast in them.

CHAPTER XXXV

HIS REMAINING INFIRMITIES WITH RELATION TO THE SECOND BRANCH OF CONCUPISCENCE, THE LUST OF THE EYES, BY WHICH HE UNDERSTANDS VAIN CURIOSITY

1. To this may be joined another sort of temptations, of manifold danger; for besides the Concupiscence of the flesh, which is found in the delectation of all the senses and their several pleasures, by serving which, they lose themselves, who go away far from thee; there is in the soul a certain vain and curious inclination, not of delighting herself in the flesh, but of making experiments by the flesh through the

same senses of the body, cloaked under the name of knowledge and science; which being seated in the appetite of knowing (as amongst the senses the eyes are the principle instruments of knowledge) is therefore called by the scripture *the Concupiscence of the eyes;* for seeing properly belongs to the eyes: but we use this word with relation to the other senses also, as often as we employ them in search of knowledge. For we do not say, hear how it lightens, or smell how it shines, or taste, or feel how bright it is; but all these things are said to be seen. And we do not only say, see how it shines, which the eye alone can perceive; but we also say, see how it soundeth, see how it smelleth, see how it relisheth, see how hard it is, and therefore the general experience of all the senses is called (as I have said) the concupiscence of the eyes, because the office of seeing which principally belongs to the eyes, is by a certain similitude exercised also by the other senses, when they make a trial of any thing in the way of acquiring knowledge.

2. Now what is done by the senses for pleasure, and what for curiosity, may be evidently discerned by this, that their pleasure is intent upon objects that are beautiful, and melodious, or fragrant, or relishing, or smooth and agreeable; but their curiosity often tries the contraries, and not for the sake of undergoing any trouble or uneasiness from them, but merely for the lust of trying and knowing them. For

what pleasure is there in beholding in a mangled carcase what may strike you with horror? And yet if a such a thing lie any where, people flock to see it, and grow sad and pale at the sight of it. And they are afraid of seeing it in their sleep, as if any one had obliged them to see it when they were awake, or any report of its beauty had invited them to it. And the like happens in the other senses, which it would be too long to instance in.

3. From this disease of curiosity it is that strange and wonderful sights attract men to public shows and theatres. Hence also men proceed to search into the secrets of nature, which he has not wrought for us to dive into; the knowledge of which is of no advantage, and yet this knowledge is the only thing that they seek. Hence also is all that which out of the same irregular desire of knowledge is sought by magic art. Hence again, in religion itself, God is tempted, when signs and miracles are called for, not desired for any good, but only for the experiment.

4. In this so vast a wood full of snares and dangers, behold, O Lord, how many I have retrenched, and cast away from my heart, as thou hast enabled me to do it, thou the God of my salvation. Yet when shall I dare to say, my life every day being encompassed on all sides with the importunities of so many of these kinds of things, when shall I dare to say that no such thing at all makes me intent to behold it, or with a vain care to be taken by it? It is

true, the theatres at present draw me not to them; neither do I care to know the courses of the stars; nor did my soul ever seek for answers from spirits: all sacrilegious compacts I detest. But with how many suggestions and artful stratagems doth the enemy seek to tempt me to ask for some sign of thee, O Lord, my God, to whom I owe an humble and sincere homage? But I beseech thee through Jesus Christ our king, and our country Jerusalem, which is all simplicity and purity, that as the consent to any such temptation is far from me, so it may be removed still farther and farther. But when I ask thee for the welfare or salvation of any one, I have quite another end and intention from this; and thou givest me, and I hope wilt ever give me, the grace on such occasions readily to acquiesce to thy holy will, whatever thou art pleased to do.

5. Nevertheless in how many petty and contemptible things is our curiosity daily tempted? And who can count how often we fall? How often, when people are relating vain and empty things, do we at first, as it were tolerate them, not to give offence to the weak, and afterwards by little and little willingly give attention to them? I don't now go to see a dog coursing a hare, when it is done in the Circus; but in the field such a course presented to my sight, when I chance to be passing by, taketh me off perhaps from some thought of great moment, and draws my attention towards it, not so as to make me turn

aside with the body of my horse, but with the inclinations of my heart. And unless thou be pleased on these occasions, after having shown me my infirmity, quickly to put me in mind, either from this sight to aspire by some pious consideration towards thee, or totally to despise it, and pass on, I continue in this vain stupidity. What, when I am sitting at home, and a Stellio catching flies, or a spider entangling them in her nets, often fixes my attention upon them? Is it not the same thing that is acted, though the creatures are small? I proceed from thence to praise thee, the wonderful Creator and ordainer of all things; but it was not with this thought that I first began to observe them; and it is one thing quickly to rise again, and another not to fall. And of such things my life is full, and my only hope is in thy exceeding great mercy. For when our heart is the receptacle of such things as these, and admits such troops of copious vanity, hence our prayers also are often interrupted and disturbed; and whilst in thy presence we direct the voice of our hearts to thy ears, so important an affair is broken off by the rushing in, I know not from whence, of such empty thoughts.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

HIS REMAINING INFIRMITIES CONCERNING THE TEMPTATIONS OF THE PRIDE OF LIFE

1 SHALL we account this also a contemptible matter? or is there any room here for hope

but in thy whole mercy because thou hast begun to change me? And thou knowest in how great a part thou hast reformed me, who hast healed me first from the desire of revenging myself, that so thou mightest also be propitious to all the rest of my iniquities, and mightest heal all my maladies, and mightest redeem my life from corruption, and crown me in thy compassion and mercy, and satisfy my desire with good things, Psalm 102. Because thou hast crushed my pride with thy fear, and tamed my neck to thy yoke. And now I bear it and it is light to me; because so thou hast promised, and so thou hast made it; and indeed so it always was, and I knew it not when I was afraid to take it up.

2. But yet, O Lord, (who alone dost Lord it without pride, because thou alone art the true Lord, who hast no Lord over thee) can I say that this third kind of temptation hath wholly quitted me, or can ever cease in this whole life? To desire to be feared, and to be loved by men, for no other end, but to be a joy therein, which is no true joy, is a wretched life, and a shameful ostentation. And from hence it chiefly comes, that men neither love thee, nor chastely fear thee. And therefore thou resistest the proud, and givest thy grace to the humble, St. James 4. And thou thunderest over the heads of the ambitious of this world, and makest the foundations of these mountains to tremble. Yet as it is necessary here for us, for the better acquitting ourselves

of certain duties of human society, to be loved and feared by men, the enemy of our true happiness presses close upon us in this matter, spreading his snares for us, and strewing over the baits of human applause, that whilst we greedily pick up the bait, we may be caught unawares in the snare; and so instead of placing our joy in thy truth, may place it in the falsehood of man; and may covet to be loved and feared by men, not for thy sake, but in thy stead: that thus he having made us like to himself, may have us with him, (not in the concord of charity; but in the fellowship of punishment) who seeks to place his throne in the north, Isaiah 14, that as many as in a perverse and crooked way affect to be like to thee might serve him there in cold and darkness.

3. But we, O Lord, are thy little flock, do thou keep possession of us. Spread forth thy wings, and let us shelter ourselves under them. Be thou our glory: let us be loved for thy sake, and let thy word be feared in us. He that has a mind to be praised by men, whilst he is dispraised by thee, shall not be justified by men, when he shall be judged by thee, nor rescued by men, when he shall be condemned by thee. Now when it is not a sinner that is praised in the desires of his soul, nor one who does wicked things, that is blessed, Psalm 9. But a man is praised for some real good, which thou hast given him; and he has more joy within himself for his being praised, than for

his having that gift for which he is praised, such a one also is praised by men so as to be dispraised by thee. And in this case better is the man that praiseth than he that is praised; for the former is pleased with the gift of God in man; but the latter is better pleased with the gift of man [viz. Praise] than with the gift of God.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE GREAT DANGER OF VAIN-GLORY FROM THE PRAISES OF MEN.

1. We are daily assaulted, O Lord, with these temptations; we are tempted without ceasing. The tongues of men are as a furnace in which we are daily tried. Thou commandest us also continency in this kind. Give what thou commandest, and command what thou wilt. Thou knowest the groans of my heart to thee concerning this thing, and the floods of my eyes. For I cannot easily discover what advance I make towards being more clean from this plague; and I very much dread my hidden sins, which are known to thy eyes, and not to mine. For in other kinds of temptations, I have some way, by which I may try myself, but none at all in this. For as for the pleasures of the sense, and the vain curiosity of knowledge, I may perceive how much I have my mind weaned from them, when I am without them, either by my will, when they are absent, or by necessity, when they cannot be

had; for at such times I ask myself how much more or less trouble I find in being without them. And as for riches (which men covet to this end, that they may be subservient to some one of the three kinds of concupiscence, or to two, or to all of them) if the mind cannot discover, as long as it possesseth them, whether it despiseth them or no, it may try itself by parting with them. But what must we do to rid ourselves of all praise, that so we may try how able we are to forego it? Must we live ill, and follow so profligate a course of life, that all that know us may abhor us? Could a greater madness be named or thought on? But if praise both usually is and ought to be the companion of a good life, and of good works; as we must not renounce a good life, so we cannot avoid its being attended with praise. Now I am not sensible what I can forego contentedly, or what I cannot part with without pain, 'till I have the trial by being without it.

2. What do I then confess to thee, O Lord, in this kind of temptation? What? But that I am delighted with praises, but more with the truth itself than with praises. For if it were proposed to me whether I had rather being mad, or erring in all things, be praised by men; or being constant or confirmed in the truth be descried by all; I know what I should choose. But then I would not have the approbation of another's mouth increase my joy for any good in me: yet I confess it increases it, and that disparagement diminishes it. And when I am

troubled at this my misery, an excuse occurs to me, which, whether it be just or no, thou knowest, O God, for it makes me uncertain. For because thou hast not only commanded us continency, that is from what things we are to restrain our love; but also justice, that is where we are to place it; and it is thy will that we should not only love thee, but also our neighbours; I often seem to myself to be delighted on these occasions with the advantage of my neighbour, or the hope of his good, when I am pleased with the commendations of one that understands things right; and again to be grieved for his sake when I hear him disparage what he is ignorant of or what is good. For I am also grieved sometimes at my own praises, when either those things are praised in me, which I dislike in myself, or when things good indeed, but slight and inconsiderable, are more valued than they ought.

3. But then again, how do I know whether I am not thus affected, because I would not have the person that praiseth me, entertain a different opinion of me, from that which I have of myself? And this not because I am moved with his profit; but because the same good things which please me in myself, become more pleasant to me, when others also are pleased with them. For in some sort it is not I that am praised, when it is not my own judgment of myself that is praised; as when those things are praised in me, which displease me, or those things are praised more, which please

me less. Am I not therefore still in the dark, as to the knowledge of myself in this matter? Behold I see in thee, O Truth, that I ought not to be pleased for my being praised for my own sake, but only for my neighbour's good. But whether it be so with me, or no, I know not; for I am less known in this matter to myself than to thee. I beseech thee, O my God, discover thou myself to me, that I may confess my wounds to my brethren, who will pray for me.

4. Let me yet more diligently examine myself. If it be only in respect of my neighbour's benefit that I am touched with my own praises, why then am I less moved if any other be unjustly dispraised, than if it were myself? Or why am I more concerned at an affront offered to myself, than if, with equal injustice, it were offered to another in my presence? Can I pretend not to know that this is so? Or shall I delude myself so far as not to say the truth in thy presence, both in heart and tongue. Such a folly as this, do thou keep far from me, that my own mouth may not be to me the flattering oil of the sinner to anoint my head, Psalm 140. I am poor and needy, but then the best when with secret groans I condemn myself, and seek thy mercy, until my deficiency be repaired and perfected into that peace which is hidden from the eye of the proud and self-conceited.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

PUBLIC ACTIONS AND DISCOURSES ARE MOST EXPOSED TO THE DANGER OF VAIN GLORY.

Now the words that proceed from the mouth, and actions that are known to men, carry with them the most dangerous temptation from this love of praise, which is ever striving to procure the applause of others, for the sdvancing of a certain private excellency, which it affects; which it ceaseth not even then to do, when I censure it in myself, taking occasion to attack me from my very censuring of it. And oftentimes it happens that a man is guilty of a greater vain-glory in making profession to contemn vain-glory. So that he does not now in truth glory in the contempt of vain-glory; for he does not really contemn it, whilst within himself he glories in it.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

PERSONS MAY BE MANY WAYS GUILTY OF A CRIMINAL SELF-CONCEIT, WITHOUT ANY REGARD TO PRAISE FROM OTHERS.

THERE is yet within us another evil in the same kind of temptation, by which persons are vainly conceited, and take a complaisance in themselves, whether they please or displease others, and without affecting to please others. Such as these, whilst they please themselves, very much displease thee; not only by taking pride in things that are not good, as if they

were good; but also in good things that are thine as if they were their own; or if as thine yet as conferred on them for their own merit, or if as from thy grace without their meriting them, yet so as not to be sociable in their joy for them, but so as to envy others the like graces. In all these and the like dangers and labours, thou seest the tremblings of my heart; and I am more sensible of my wounds in this kind being from time to time healed by thee, than of their not being inflicted on me.

CHAPTER XL.

A RECAPITULATION OF THE CONTENTS OF THIS BOOK. HIS EXTRAORDINARY TRANSPORTS SOMETIMES IN THE CONTEMPLATION OF GOD.

WHERE hast thou not walked along with me, O Truth, instructing me what I ought to avoid, and what to desire, whilst I have been referring to thee my interior sights such as I could discover, and have been consulting thee concerning them? I have surveyed the world abroad, as far as my senses could reach; and I have considered the life of my own body, and those same senses of mine; from hence I entered into the inner-chambers of my memory, those manifold capacities filled with innumerable stores by wonderful ways; and I considered them, and was amazed at them; and none of them all could I discern without thee, and yet I found none of them to be thee. No, nor I myself the discoverer, who have travelled

over all these, and have endeavoured to distinguish, and estimate each of them according to their appropriate dignity; receiving some from the messages of the senses; questioning about others, which I perceived within me whence they came, distinguishing and numbering up the several messengers that brought me intelligence; and then displaying in my memory all its treasures, handling some, laying up others again, and drawing out others: yet I myself, I say, who was doing all this, that is, my faculty itself, by which I did all this, was not thou; for thou art that light, always the same, which I consulted concerning all these, whether they were? what they were? and of what value they were? And I listened unto it, instructing me and commanding me. And this I still continue often to do. This gives me great delight, and as often as I can have leisure from other necessary duties I repair to this pleasure. Neither can I find in all these things, which I run through consulting thee, any one place of repose for my soul, only in thee, whither all my dissipations may be recollected, that nothing of me may go astray from thee. And sometimes thou dost admit me into an affection of devotion very uncommon within my interior; to I know not what sweetness, which if it were to be perfected in me, I know not what there could be that such a life would want But I fall back again into the things below, by the weight of my misery; and I am again engulfed in the things I am accustomed to, and

am held fast by them; and I weep much, but am still held fast. So much doth the burthen of custom press down the soul. Here I am able to be, but not willing; there I am willing to be, but not able; and am both ways miserable

CHAPTER XLI.

GOD, WHO IS THE TRUTH, WILL NOT BE ENJOYED OGETHER WITH A LIE.

THEREFORE I proceeded also to consider the maladies of my sins in the three kinds of concupiscence; and I invoked thy right-hand to cure me. And I looked up at thy brightness with my wounded heart, and being struck back by it, I said, *who can ever attain thither? I am cast forth from the sight of thine eyes*, Psalm 30. Thou art the truth that presidest above all things: but I through my covetousness, was not willing to lose thee; but had a mind to possess a lie together with thee: as no man desires in such manner to tell lies, as to be ignorant himself of the truth.—Therefore I lost thee, because thou vouchsafest not to be possessed together with a lie.

CHAPTER XLII.

FOR A REMEDY FOR ALL OUR MALADIES WE ARE NOT TO HAVE RECOURSE, WITH THE PLATONISTS, TO EVIL ANGELS OR DEMONS.

And now whom should I find, who might reconcile me to thee? Was that office to be undertaken for me by some Angel? By what prayer? By what Sacraments? Many endeavouring to return to thee, and not being able by themselves, have as I hear, attempted such ways, and fallen into the desire of curious visions, and so have deserved to be imposed upon by delusions. For they sought thee being puffed up with pride of their learning, and exalting rather than beating their breasts; and they drew to themselves by the likeness of their dispositions, the powers of this air, conspiring with them, and associated with them in their pride, by whom they might be deceived by magical operations whilst they were pretending to seek a mediator, by whom they might be purged; and here was no such; but it was the Devil, *transforming himself into an Angel of light*, 2 Cor. 11. And it was a great allurement to proud flesh, that they had lighted upon a spirit, who had no body of flesh. For they were both mortals and sinners; and thou, O Lord, to whom they proudly sought to be reconciled, wert immortal and without sin. Now the mediator between God and men ought to have something like to God, and something like to men; lest if in both he were

like to men, he should be at too great a distance from God; or if in both he were like to God, he should be at too great a distance from men, and so not be a mediator. Therefore this counterfeit mediator (by whom, through thy secret judgment, pride deserves to be deluded) has one thing common with men, that is, sin; and would seem to have another thing common with God, whilst not being clothed with mortal flesh, he vaunts himself as immortal. But since the wages of sin is death, Rom. 6, he hath this common with men, from whence with them he is sentenced to death.

CHAPTER XLIII.

CHRIST IS THE TRUE MEDIATOR, THROUGH WHOM HE CONFIDENTLY HOPES TO BE CURED OF ALL HIS MALADIES.

1. But the true mediator, whom by thy secret mercy thou hast manifested to the humble, and sent, that by his example men might learn humility, that *Mediator of God and men, the Man Christ Jesus*, 1 Tim. 2, hath appeared between mortal sinners, and the immortal just one; being mortal with men, just with God. That as the wages of justice is life and peace, he, by his justice allied to God, might evacuate death to justified sinners, which death he was pleased to have in common with them. The same mediator was made known to the Saints of old, that so they, by the faith of his Passion to come, as we by the faith of his Passion now

past, might attain salvation. And he was mediator, inasmuch as he was man; but inasmuch as he was *the word* he was not mediator, because he was equal to God, and together with the Holy Ghost, one God.

2. How hast thou loved us, O good Father, *who hast not spared thy only son, but delivered him up for us sinners!* Rom. 8. How hast thou loved us! For whom he, who *thought it no robbery to be equal to thee, was made subject even unto death, even unto the death of the Cross*, Phil. 2. He who alone was *free amongst the dead*, Psalm 87, *having power to lay down his life, and having power to take it up again*, St. John 10, becoming to thee, in our behalf, both a victor and a victim; and therefore a victor, because a victim; becoming to thee in our behalf, both the Priest and the Sacrifice, and therefore the Priest, because the Sacrifice; making us to thee of servants sons, by being born thy son, and becoming our servant. And therefore do I justly repose a strong hope in him, that thou wilt heal all my maladies through him that sitteth at thy right hand, and intercedeth to thee for us; else I should despair. For many and great are these my maladies; they are many and great, but greater is thy medicine.

3. We might have thought that thy word was too remote from any alliance with men, and have despaired of ourselves, had not this *Word become Flesh, and dwelt among us*, St. John 1. Being affrighted with my sins, and

with the load of my misery, I had a thought in my heart, and had a formed design, to run away into the wilderness; but thou didst prohibit it to me, and didst encourage me, saying, that *therefore Christ died for all, that they that live should henceforth not live unto themselves, but unto him that died for them*, 2 Cor. 5.

4. Behold, O Lord, I cast all my care upon thee, Psalm 54, *that I may live and consider the wonderful things of thy law*, Psalm 118, thou knowest my ignorance, and my weakness, do thou teach me and heal me. He, thy only one, in whom *are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge*, Col. 2, has redeemed me by his blood: *Let not the proud calumniate me*, Psalm 118, for I meditate on the price of my ransom, and I eat it and drink it, and communicate it to others; and being poor I desire to be filled therewith, among those that *eat and are filled, and they shall praise the Lord that seek him*, Psalm 21.

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